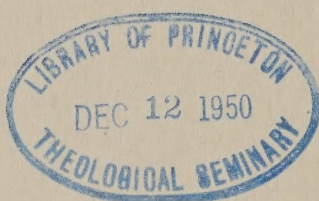


» *Family Life  
in West China*

IRMA HIGHBAUGH, PH.D.

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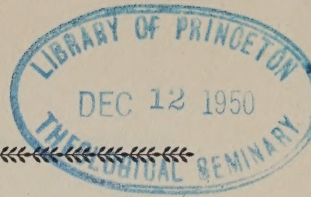






*Family Life in West China*





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*Family Life*  
*in West China*

by IRMA ✓ HIGHBAUGH, Ph.D.

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AGRICULTURAL MISSIONS, Inc. : NEW YORK, 1948

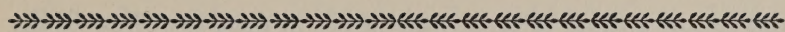


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## *Introduction*

THIS VOLUME is cut from the fabric of rural reconstruction as it has developed in China during the past twenty years. There has been a growing conviction in many groups that change can best be accomplished comprehensively and permanently in community life only through correlative change in family life. This conviction was the more emphatic because of the traditional position of the family in Chinese society. Family-centered rural reconstruction is, therefore, the material from which this account is taken; family life as it was lived from day to day; the sociological factors which influenced family members; the interaction between members of the same family and between families in the community; and the way these relationships have changed, with the reasons for the change, are recorded. The information contained in this book was gathered during three years of research in two rural communities in Szechuan, West China. The material is arranged in three parts to meet the interests of different readers. Book I contains two narratives of daily life in two communities and an analysis of family relationships. Book II presents the service program through which the information recorded in Book I was gathered and indicates some results of the program. Book III describes the research and techniques used to gather the information.

Book I, because of its style and content, will be of interest to those who seek greater understanding of Chinese family life, its relationships, and what happens in the home from day to day. Students of child guidance will discover how guidance principles work and how personality develops in these rural families. Those whose primary interest is research may find it rewarding to read

this factual account of three years of life in these two West China communities. Leaders in rural reconstruction will see it in operation in Part I.

Book II is included in response to a request from a group of church and community leaders who want to know how the service program was initiated, how it was carried on, and what the results were. This section presents the original program as set up to help individuals and families to meet their needs and shows how it was changed from time to time as the partial findings of the research revealed other needs. Some of the results in individual change, in family change, and in community change are set forth in Book II.

Book III is included for the smaller group who are specifically interested in research in family and community life. Students wishing to become familiar with the tools and techniques of research will find here an account of methods selected by various research workers from years of experience with rural people. These methods were further refined during the three years devoted to this study. Busy community and church leaders, who wish to start some research or teaching in this field, may welcome these tried techniques as the starting place for similar work of their own.

The author wishes to acknowledge indebtedness to many who have brought together the child welfare and rural reconstruction movements. A philosophy of rural reconstruction and techniques used in the service-research program have come more directly from the Mass Education Movement, the National Christian Council and the North China Christian Rural Service Union, all of China, and from Cornell University.

Chief credit is due to the Cornell University professors for suggestions, criticisms and encouragement. The author wishes to thank Dr. Ethel B. Waring and Dr. Leonard S. Cottrell for help in the preparation of the check list which was the major tool in the study; Dr. Waring and Dr. Lauriston Sharp for help in preparation of the report; and Dr. Paul J. Kruse, Dr. Asahel D. Woodruff, Dr. Knight Biggerstaff and Dr. Margaret Wylie for reading the manuscript. She is grateful to Dr. Lewis Smythe, Dr. Winifred Shannon, Dr. Margaret Mead, Mr. John H. Reisner, and Mr. Rowland Cross for critical reading of the manuscript and constructive suggestions which have greatly improved it.




The author wishes to acknowledge her indebtedness to all who sponsored the service-research undertaking; to the leaders of the local groups in the two communities for cooperation throughout the three-year period and for the continuation and expansion of the program of service which demonstrates its usefulness; to the Board of Church Extension and the West China Conference of the Methodist Church, that granted the current budget for the three-year service project; to the Nanking Theological Seminary, that sponsored and provided the research funds; and to the members of the Research Advisory Committee whose stimulation and suggestions in the selection of the location, in the committee meetings, and in the supervision of field work inestimably strengthened the whole service-research project.

To none, however, is the author more indebted than to her Chinese colleagues of the service-research team: Miss Feng Chia-Wen, Miss Liu Fu-ju, and the six college and university students. She wishes to thank them and Ginling College for the loan of Miss Wei Chen-tzu to make the final check and preparation of the data in a form for transportation to America.

Special thanks are due to the Committee on Christian Literature for Women and Children in Foreign Lands for its generous financial aid to Agricultural Missions, Inc., and to the latter organization for assuming responsibility for the publication and distribution of the book; also to Miss Constance Hallock, who has seen it through the press and arranged the index.

While the author takes final responsibility, she shares with her Chinese colleagues of the service-research team the interpretation of this material and expresses the hope that it may enable many others to work with more insight and understanding at family-centered rural reconstruction.





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# *Book I*

FAMILY LIFE IN TWO COMMUNITIES

LIU CHIA HO & LING CHIA HUA YUAN



## *Chapter 1*

### THE SETTING

Szechuan Province, where the two children of this story lived, and which was the seat of the war-time capital of China, has long been one of the richest, most densely populated and most provincial regions of China. Isolated by high mountains and difficult to reach from the outside, the people within the province found travel arduous before the day of buses and planes. The children and their families were familiar with only one of the four great rivers from which the province derives its name. The To river, half a mile away, dominated the lives of those in the community where the little girl in the story lived. It bordered the strip of land where the fields of her clan family lay, provided the water which they used, had to be crossed each time they went to town, and cut them off from the rest of the world in the rare times of flood. It looked so close that the children often reached out their hands thinking they could touch it, yet was so far for adults to carry water from it, that the supply had to be used sparingly. The small tributary river, which was a part of the daily life of the community where the little boy lived, emptied into the To river at Kien Yang, five miles away. It helped to swell the current of this river which finally flowed into the Chia Ling and which in turn, poured its volume into the Yangtze, ten days' boat travel from Kien Yang.

Kien Yang County, in which both children lived, is the second largest and wealthiest in the province. It ranked second in sugar production, and added substantially to the riches of the province before the war. The sugar houses of the families of the children supplied sugar to the three alcohol factories which had sprung up

to meet the war emergency and to keep buses running in the province. The tung oil trees which dotted the hillsides of the little boy's community contributed only slightly to the county output of oil, since they were all young trees and had few berries on them. Other products such as rice, cotton, corn, sweet potatoes, and vegetables were consumed within the county itself. The thirty-five salt wells were an interesting part of the landscape, but salt for families on the market was required by law to come from outside the county to prevent graft in this valuable commodity.

Kien Yang, the county seat, was the city where the maternal grandmother of the little girl of the story lived, and where she often visited. The father of the little boy went there twice a week to sell produce and buy needed supplies and he himself went once during the three years of this story. The little boy's father and the parents of the little girl were familiar with the three pagodas, the curving roof trees and the carved wood friezes of the old ancestral halls which proclaimed the wealth of earlier days in this city. Kien Yang was the seat of the county government. It was the location of the educational bureaus where their schools and adult literacy classes were registered, from which they received free textbooks, and where the father and mother of the little girl, who were teachers, went to attend educational meetings. It was the home of the secretary of the Bureau of Agriculture who came to judge their goats and to help their fathers to decide which land to plant to wheat when the government ordered a twenty-five per cent increase in production of that grain during the war. It was where the little girl's mother went for treatment of an abscess at the public health clinic. It was the town to which families of both communities delivered their rice in payment of the land tax during the war. It was there that the little boy's family took their lawsuit to court, and when the suit was lost in that court, where they took the bus to go fifty miles to Chengtu, the provincial capital, to appeal the case.

Liu Chia Ho, the community where the little boy lived, was five miles from Kien Yang. His father appreciated the stone path from the city to his home. It was easy to carry his heavy load suspended from the ends of his carrying pole when he walked on a paved path, especially on the many rainy days. He was always glad when he climbed the long hill and came to the little hills, for then he was almost home. All of his short life, the little boy had



climbed those little hills, or had been surrounded by them as he walked on the narrow grass-grown paths between the rice fields when he went from his home to the clusters of homes of the neighbors an eighth or a quarter of a mile away.

Ling Chia Hua Yuan, where the little girl lived, was four miles in another direction from Kien Yang. The little girl sometimes got tired walking the one mile from their settlement to the river bank on the hard earthen path, and rode in the basket on her father's back. After they crossed the river in the little boat, they rode in a rickshaw, following the big motor road with the river far below and the cliffs honeycombed with caves, high above them.

At Liu Chia Ho, the little boy lived near the border between two *Pao Chia* and it just happened that the *Pao Chang* of each lived near him. Each *Pao Chang* was elected biennially from the hundred families for whom he was responsible to the county government. Education, taxes, the conduct of individuals and families, conscription of labor and soldiers, in fact, all local government was in the hands of the *Pao Chang*. He administered the law locally through ten *Chia Chang*, each of whom was elected biennially from the ten families for whom he was responsible. All of the *Chia Chang* and the two *Pao Chang* were young men and one of the former was the elder brother of the little boy. The local government was as good or as bad as the *Pao Chang*. When he was dishonest or a man of no ability, local government was oppressive, and public money was said to drip through the fingers of the various hands through which it passed. The *Pao Chang* of the hundred families in which the little boy lived was known as an honest, just, and public-spirited man. He gave unstintingly of his time to handle the most tedious problem of an impecunious old grandmother, to bring harmony from a family or community quarrel, to suppress the use of opium, to plan with his families for some public service which would benefit the whole community, and to train the young men and women in citizenship. All educational matters had to be channeled to the county educational bureau through the *Hsiang Chang*. He had consistently withheld his approval to a request for schools with the result that there was no government school in either of the two *Pao Chia*.

In Ling Chia Hua Yuan, where the little girl lived, there was a dual system of government in operation which produced a

# OUTLINE COMPARISON OF THE TWO RURAL COMMUNITIES

4

FAMILY LIFE IN TWO COMMUNITIES

## LIU CHIA HO

Area of operation: a five-mile radius, with Liu Chia Ho as center, had 800 families in it.

Immediate field of operation: 80 families, members of the Credit Cooperative, were scattered throughout the five-mile radius but located largely within one mile of the center.

Families who participated in the service program were largely from four settlements:

Young Wen	with 10 families
Older Wen	with 35 families
Wei	with 15 families
Ch'en	with 6 families

The people were all farmers.

The people were poor and rising economically and educationally.

There was no *Pao Chia* primary school at the opening of the project.

There were twenty-two Christians at the opening of the project and no opposition to Christianity.

A small river running through the area, at the foot of Ping-tzu's garden, provided water for the community.

## LING CHIA HUA YUAN

Area of operation: a strip of land two by four miles, bounded by the river on one side and mountains on the other side, had 800 families in it.

Immediate field of operation: 80 families, all members of two branches of the same clan, lived within one-eighth mile of each other.

Families who participated in the service program were all in two settlements, and largely from the one settlement with 42 families in it.

The people were all farmers but some of them also had business interests in town.

The people were wealthy with an educational and cultural background of 4300 years of clan recorded history.

There was a *Pao Chia* school at the opening of the project.

There were no Christians at the opening of the project and considerable opposition to Christianity.

The great river, one of the four great ones of the province, two-thirds of a mile away, provided all water for the community.

Sugar cane, cotton, corn, sweet potatoes, wheat, and vegetables grew here.

Fruit trees and wild flowers grew here.

Most of houses had thatched roofs and earthen floors.

The staff residence and center of activities were located in a farm home.

Service activities were located in four different family homes or family ancestral halls:

1. Kwan family home
  - Children's school and club
  - Church services
  - Children's and other festivals

2. Young Wen Ancestral Hall
  - Nursery school
  - Parent education
  - Adult literacy class

3. Older Wen Ancestral Hall
  - Adult literacy class
  - Youth group meetings

4. Ch'en Ancestral Hall
  - Adult literacy class
  - Goat judging
  - China New Year meetings

Sugar cane, corn, sweet potatoes, and very few vegetables grew here.

Flowering trees and cultivated flowers grew here.

All except a few houses had tiled roofs and wood or cement floors.

The staff residence and activities were located in the ten-branched clan ancestral hall.

Service activities were all located in one ancestral hall:

1. Ling Clan Ancestral Hall
  - Children's clubs
  - Adult literacy class
  - Nursery school
  - Parent education
  - China New Year Festival

certain amount of conflict among the families. Some clan elders tenaciously adhered to the old system which placed all power, even of life and death, in the hands of the clan elders. Other clan members wished to follow the new and lawful *Pao Chia* government system and feared that the clan might come into conflict with the county government. The clan head, elected from the oldest generation of clan members, took over many functions of local government. At the same time, the *Pao Chang* was regularly elected by the hundred families for whom he was responsible to the county government. A part of the ancestral hall of the clan was allocated to the county government educational bureau for schools. A *Pao Chia* school, and later an adult literacy class, were established and both registered with the government. Certain of the clan elders opposed both of these educational enterprises and established an old fashioned classics school for boys in a nearby branch ancestral hall.

Although different in shape, both of these communities were about the same size and had the same population. If the isolated farmhouse of the little boy were taken as a center and a circle with a five mile radius were drawn, eight hundred families would fall within its boundaries. All of them had a Cantonese background but with many different names. All of them were farmers and all owned the land on which they lived. None of them were very rich and none in dire poverty, though a few families lived in a very restricted manner. The settlement of forty-two families where the little girl lived is off at one end of a U-shaped tract of land two miles wide and four miles long, and is bounded on one side by the river and on the other by some low mountains. Eight hundred families all of one name and all from the same Fukien clan lived here. They had lived in this place for over two hundred years and are known as a wealthy clan. They were farmers too, and lived on land which they owned, but a few of them were also merchants, and a few were school teachers.

The story covers three years of time and tells the actual happenings of the families in these two rural communities, although the incidents are not told in the order in which they happened. The little boy in the story grew from three to six years of age and the little girl from two and a half to five and a half years. Since the three years were war years, many different kinds of people came to live in their province and in their county. The children and



their friends came to know some of each of the kinds of people who lived in Kien Yang after the war began. Their parents knew these people as Szechuanese or Down-river people, depending on whether they spoke the local dialect or some of the out-of-province dialects. Previous to the war, all persons entering the province came from down the Yangtze river and so were called Down-river folk. The Down-river people dressed and acted differently from the Szechuanese, so the parents thought. The children, however, either knew them or didn't know them, and liked or disliked them as persons and not because of differences in language and dress. Some of all of these kinds of persons came to the communities of these children and became friends with them and their families.

## Chapter 2

## BIG DAYS FOR PING-TZU

Ping-tzu was living with his grandfather. He was already four years old. He had spent most of his time during the last year and a half with Grandfather and Grandmother and Big Aunt in that branch of his large clan household. From the time he could toddle he had always liked to stay long periods of time in this home, and since beginning nursery school, he stayed with grandparents all of the time. Ping-tzu's father and mother and three older sisters, sixteen, twelve, and nine years of age, and his baby brother, a year and a half old, lived in the other home which was three miles away. When the new baby came, Ping-tzu was glad to stay almost all of the time in this home where Grandmother and Big Aunt treated him like the baby. Ping-tzu saw his father almost every day, since he was Grandfather's second son and managed all the business for their large clan family. Alternate days his father went to market in town, stopping in Grandfather's yard both going and coming to rest a while and to talk over sales and purchases at market. Other days he came to discuss some business with Grandfather or just to see if anything needed his attention.

In Ping-tzu's home, in addition to his own family, were Third Uncle with his eight children; Fourth Uncle, whose first four children had all died, and now this girl baby who cried all the time and they didn't think she would live (Fourth Uncle managed all the work of the men of the family, appointing each his task of ploughing or reaping); and Fifth Uncle, whose only son was just a little younger than Ping-tzu. There were so many people always

## NAMES IN PING-TZU'S FAMILY

Grandfather — Grandmother

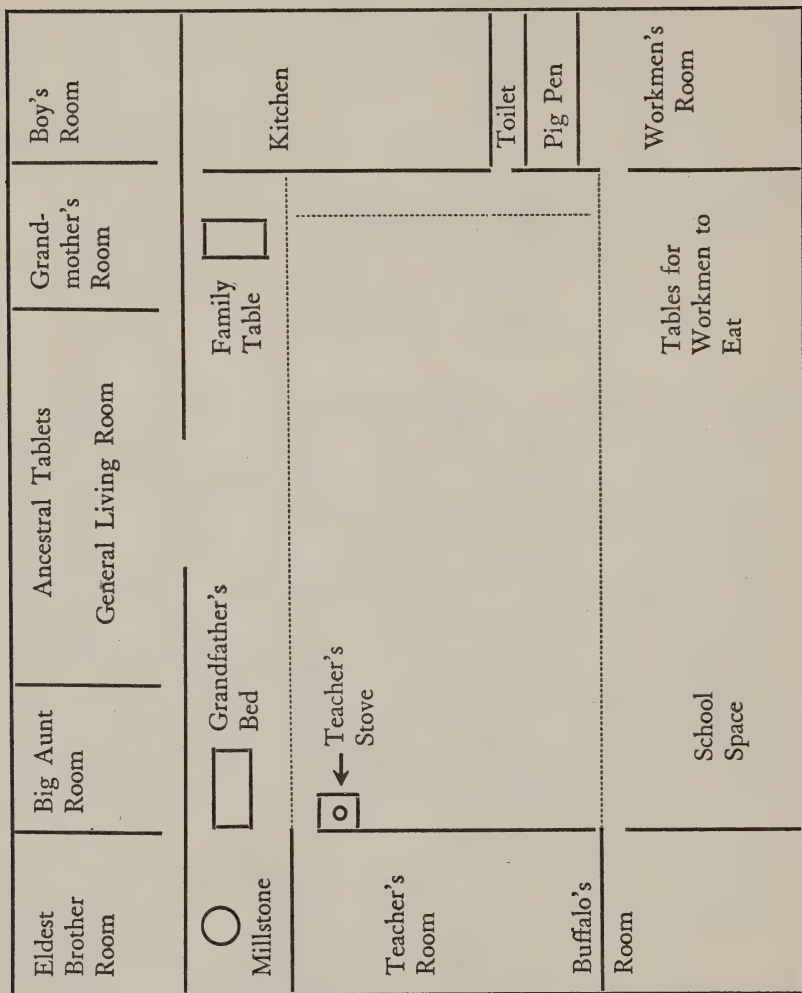
Big Uncle <sup>1</sup> (gone away) Big Aunt		Father <sup>2</sup> Mother		Third Uncle Third Aunt		Fourth Uncle <sup>3</sup> Fourth Aunt		Fifth Uncle Fifth Aunt	
1. Eldest Brother (Chung-hai)		1. Eldest Sister		1. Eldest Brother		1. Dead child		1. Fu-tzu	
Eldest Sister-in-law		2. Second Sister		2. An-tzu		2. " "			
:		3. Third Sister				3. " "			
		4. Fourth Sister				4. " "			
		5. Ping-tzu				5. Baby			
		6. Baby Brother							
2. Second Brother (Chung-han)									
3. Third Brother (Chung-wan)									
4. Fourth Sister (Ssu-mei)									

<sup>1</sup> Ping-tzu's Big Uncle was referred to by Grandfather as Eldest Son and Ping-tzu's father as Second Son. He was business manager of the family.

<sup>2</sup> Ping-tzu's Father was referred to by Ping-tzu's cousins as Second Uncle.

<sup>3</sup> Ping-tzu's Fourth Uncle was manager of all work of the family.

## PING-TZU'S HOUSE



—— Walls

----- Open porch



telling him to do this or do that in his own home that he liked to stay at this home where Grandfather and Grandmother and Big Aunt were always doing things for him. This home did not have too many people in it. There were Eldest Brother, Hua-chung, who was in line for the inheritance and had to be treated with special respect. He was grown up and married. Hua-chung's wife had a new baby who was only a girl and didn't bother Ping-tzu much. Then there were Second Brother, Hua-en, who was fourteen years old, Third Brother, Hua-hui, thirteen years old, and Fourth Little Sister, Ssu-mei, who was twelve. Whenever Grandmother went over to the other home to stay for a week or two to help with rice planting or harvesting, Ping-tzu went too. He really liked being Grandmother's boy better than being Mother's boy since the baby brother came. Almost every day, Father brought him something when he came, an orange or a big turnip for Big Aunt to cook, and sometimes a cake from town.

#### PICKING COTTON IN THE UPPER FIELD

Ping-tzu had gone to the upper field to help Big Aunt pick cotton. He had picked for a long, long time and now he was resting. He sat on a cotton ridge and thought. Ssu-mei was there too, helping Big Aunt to pick cotton. It was a cloudy day and warm, so it was nice sitting on the cotton ridge. Big Aunt didn't talk very much nor did Ssu-mei. They just picked and picked. When they straightened up to rest their backs, then he could ask them a question. As he sat on the cotton ridge, he played a game called "Hunting the House." He looked and looked down below to hunt his own (Grandfather's) house. He could see the upper branches of the bamboos with their tops bent over. They looked as if they were sleepy with their heads bent over that way. He could not see the house, so he stood up and looked. Yes, there it was nestled among the trees. He could see only one corner of the thatched roof. That was the corner over the bedroom where he slept with Second Brother, Hua-en, and Third Brother, Hua-hui. Right next to it was the kitchen. He stretched to see more roof but he couldn't see any more so he sat down again. Just then Big Aunt straightened up to rest her back. "Big Aunt, shall we go to Liang Pao Chang's house today?" inquired Ping-tzu. "No, why should we

go to Liang *Pao Chang's*<sup>1</sup> today? We must pick cotton today," replied Big Aunt, smiling at him. "We could go to get some eggs for Grandfather and Grandmother to eat," readily came Ping-tzu's answer. Ssu-mei spoke up; "Oh, you don't want to go there today. Hu-tzu is helping his mother to pick cotton too. If you go up the road to the top of the hill you can see him in that field above their house." That was what Ping-tzu wanted to do. His dimple dented his cheek in and his eyes laughed, as he scrambled out of the cotton ridges up over the edge of the field to the road.

He went quickly to the top of the hill and there way down on the other side were Hu-tzu and his mother picking cotton. There were another woman and a man. That must be Mrs. Liang's brother and his wife helping to pick the cotton. He sat down to rest and play again, "Hunting the House." It was easier this time. From the top of the hill, he could see all the bamboos around Hu-tzu's house and the whole big roof top too. And out in front there were two big soap-berry trees. He liked the trees in front of his own house better. You could eat the fruit from the tangerine and pomelo trees but you couldn't eat soap-berries. They were nice to play with, but Mrs. Liang wouldn't let them have many because she put them away to use to wash the clothes. He stood up and looked again. Maybe Hu-tzu would see him and come up to play with him. Mrs. Liang straightened her back just then and saw him. She told Hu-tzu to look as she called out, "Is your Big Aunt picking cotton today, Ping-tzu?" Ping-tzu nodded his head. Hu-tzu called out something but Ping-tzu couldn't hear so far away. He looked at them some more and sat down again. Then he played again, "Hunting the House."

He tried to find Ch'en Kwang-chu's house this time. Ch'en Kwang-chu was the big girl who helped the teacher in the nursery school. Ping-tzu could see her father's tangerine orchard. It was that dark clump of trees over there. He looked and looked, but could not see her house. It was around the bend of the hill. He closed his eyes and then he could see it. He often went with the teacher to Kwang-chu's house. First he went around that hill, and

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<sup>1</sup> *Pao Chang* is the new civic head of 100 families elected by the people for a two-year term. He is directly responsible to the county official for putting into effect orders from above, for information about local affairs, and the conduct of 100 families.

then he walked along the big pond. There were all those big tall bamboos that looked like a wall. He went in at the end and came into the big stone-paved courtyard where Kwang-chu lived. When he first saw her house across the courtyard, it looked different from his house. The tile roof did not come down so snugly over the sides of it as the thatch did on his house. But when he got inside it looked almost exactly like his own house. The thick mud walls, the hard, even dirt floor, and the big bed and table and chairs were just like his own. Even the big room where the ancestral tablets were had a wooden floor like his own house. He liked it when Kwang-chu had taken him into the inner courtyard that time. They had picked peaches from the tree in front of the ancestral hall and another time they had eaten dates from the date tree. But that was way last summer. Now the tangerines were beginning to turn a little. "Better come back now and pick cotton," called Ssu-mei. The game was over.

He sauntered back, picking up some smooth round stones which he saw along the road. This cotton picking was fun. He liked to go to nursery school but it was nice to have school dismissed for cotton picking. He picked a few handfuls of cotton. "Big Aunt, can I have some sugar cane?" asked Ping-tzu. "Go get the child some sugar cane," commanded Big Aunt. As Ssu-mei started off toward the next field to get the sugar cane, she called after her, "Bring two stalks. I am thirsty, too. We'll all have some. The sugar cane will be better later," said Big Aunt, "but it does have some juice now." It was nearly time to stop and prepare dinner, but she felt tired and decided to take rest here in the fields before going home where there was never a moment to sit down. She sat down on a ridge of cotton. Ping-tzu moved over beside her and laid his head on Big Aunt's knees, grinning up into her face. She laid her hand on his shoulder and smiled back at him. They rested till Ssu-mei brought the sugar cane, broke it into sections, and divided it among them. When they had eaten it, they went home.

#### MIDDAY ROUTINES

Ping-tzu had waited and waited for dinner to be ready. He thought it was very long. First he sat on the outer doorsill with his elbow on his knee, his chin cupped in his hand. He looked up at the tangerines and pomelos. "When will they be ripe?" he

asked, but no one bothered to answer him. Then he went over and sat on the stool beside Grandfather in his big chair on the porch. Grandfather's big voice boomed out, "Ping-tzu, bring me my pipe," and Ping-tzu brought him the long, slender bamboo pipe with the tiny brass bowl. He watched the smoke curl up for a while but he got hungrier and hungrier as he smelled the sweet potatoes boiling in the kitchen. Finally he sauntered into the kitchen where Grandmother was chopping the turnips. Ssu-mei was feeding the fire and Big Aunt was taking the sweet potatoes from the big kettle and putting them into the biggest bowls. As he entered the kitchen, Big Aunt and Grandmother smiled at each other. Big Aunt selected a small potato from one of the bowls and casually handed it to Ping-tzu. Grandmother went to the big cupboard in the corner and got a spoon, filled it with the syrup of the sweet potatoes, and handed it to Ping-tzu. He sat down on the kitchen doorsill as he ate the sweet potato. Ssu-mei got the bowls and chopsticks and carried them to the big table on the porch near Grandfather's big chair. Each time she went back and forth, she climbed over Ping-tzu but she never asked him to move. He was the baby and he was a boy. Ping-tzu saw Big Aunt put the turnips where the sweet potatoes had been in the big black iron kettle. When they were done, she washed the kettle again, and poured in the green peppers. "Put some fuel in the stove, Ping-tzu," Big Aunt said quietly as she poured the oil into the kettle to fry the peppers. My, they did smell good! Ping-tzu's mouth watered. Eldest Brother came home and went right over to see the new baby before he washed for dinner.

Eldest Sister-in-law had been busy all this time just feeding the baby from her breast. When she fed the baby, she didn't have to do any work. Dinner must be about ready. Ping-tzu went to the big stone-vat toilet between the kitchen and pig pen. He came out tying the waist cord about his trousers and went to wash his hands as the teacher in the nursery school had taught him. Then he sat down on the stool beside his grandfather and waited for dinner. "Ping-tzu, dinner is ready," said Grandmother. "Come to dinner," shouted Grandmother to Grandfather loudly to make him hear. There was room for all of them who were at home. Eight people could sit at the big square table: Grandfather, Grandmother, Eldest Brother, Big Aunt, Ping-tzu and Ssu-mei, Second Brother



(Third Brother was over at the other home). Of course, Eldest Sister-in-law properly came a little after the others had started and slipped into the vacant seat. As bowls were emptied Eldest Sister-in-law or Ssu-mei went to the kitchen to fill them. Grandmother even went out to get the extra bowls of sweet potatoes when the first two were emptied. Big Aunt never left her seat. She had worked hard picking cotton and was very tired, so Grandmother filled the bowls. When Ping-tzu had eaten till he was very full, and his stomach felt hard, he slipped down from his seat and started toward the bedroom to take a nap. "Ping-tzu," boomed Grandfather, "you can sleep with me this afternoon." Ping-tzu dimpled and turned in the direction of Grandfather's big wooden bed on the other end of the porch. He climbed up on the step which ran the length of the side of the bed, kicked off his straw sandals onto the step, and crawled over to the back side of the bed next to the linen bed curtain, and snuggled down. Grandfather would pull the bed curtains over the front of the bed to keep out the flies and insects, when he came. Ping-tzu went to sleep.

#### GETTING UP IN THE MORNING

Ping-tzu was getting up. He had waked up in the big bed. The comfort was all rumpled up on the front part of the bed. The bed curtain was neatly hooked back; Hua-en and Hua-hui were already gone. Ping-tzu crawled over to the front of the bed, slid down onto the long bench beside it, and found his straw sandals. He put them on shivering and went quickly to the kitchen. There was Big Aunt stirring the breakfast vegetable. He stood beside Ssu-mei who was feeding the fire. He pulled at his trousers and caught the waist cord which was slipping down. Adjusting his trousers nicely, he tied them securely. Leaning one hand on the shoulder of Ssu-mei as she squatted in front of the open firebox, he held out one sandalled foot toward her hopefully. She smiled at him lovingly and shook her head. "You can tie your own sandal ties, I must feed the fire," she said. She selected a little bunch of straw, wound it into a tight longish bundle, wrapped a few straws about it to hold it securely, and fed it into the fire. Ping-tzu leaned over and tied first one and then the other sandal tie about his ankle.

He still shivered and held his hands out toward the open firebox to get warm. Big Aunt went over to the dish cupboard, and

reaching up took two bamboo firebaskets from the top. She walked around the stove to the fire-box, and taking out some glowing ashes from the fire-box with the little iron shovel, she filled the fire-dish in each basket with them. She handed the large one to Grandmother and the smaller one to Ping-tzu. He took it, smiling up at Big Aunt. Placing it on the floor, he squatted beside it and held both hands over the warm ashes for a while. Then he got up and, holding the basket handle with one hand, he lifted his front blouse tail and draped it over the basket, then reached his other hand in and held the basket against his body under his blouse with both hands as he wandered out into the yard.

Teacher was cooking her breakfast on her stove outside the door across the courtyard from their own kitchen. She greeted him. "Today is the day to get vaccinated, Ping-tzu," she said. Just then Hua-en came in with a bucket of water and poured it into the teacher's water jar which was on the other side of her door from the stove. "Hua-en, you are a good boy to bring me water," she said. "You can get vaccinated today. Mrs. Teng is coming and with her is Dr. Teng, her husband. He is having vacation and fortunately can help us here." Hua-en listened respectfully. "We need to get vaccinated," he replied. "I have just heard from Wen Te-chiang that Ch'en Ta-sao's baby died last night at Hsiao Kang Tzu, from the smallpox." Big Aunt, hearing Hua-en's announcement, came out of their kitchen door, holding the big iron ladle in her hand, while she listened. "It was inevitable," said the teacher. "That child had a bad case of smallpox and it was so undernourished and thin! I just hope the parents will allow the other children to be vaccinated and prevent them from taking it." Big Aunt had moved across the courtyard as they talked. "Well, they won't!" she stated positively. "They are too superstitious. It is the Year of the Cow and they won't vaccinate!" "Most of the school children will vaccinate, Teacher," Hua-en assured her. "Eldest Brother and Second Uncle both approve of vaccination. Even though it is the Year of the Cow, they do not fear for us to vaccinate," he continued. The teacher wiped the tears from her eyes before they fell into the food she was cooking. "I will get vaccinated, Teacher, don't cry," said Ping-tzu. "How many more babies must die before this old superstition is wiped out," Teacher wondered aloud. Ssu-mei had come across from their kitchen. She sat down and began to

feed the teacher's fire for her. "We will get vaccinated, Teacher. And so will Ch'en Kwang-chu and Shu-chen and Shu-ch'ing. They told me so," she comforted the teacher.

#### GETTING VACCINATED

Ping-tzu was not afraid of Mrs. Teng nor Dr. Teng. He had been vaccinated with his older brothers and sisters and now he was going with Teacher and Dr. Teng to Hsiao Kang Tzu to vaccinate the children there. Dr. Teng carried the bag with the medicine and the needles in it. It hadn't hurt Ping-tzu much to be vaccinated. Big Aunt had held him while the doctor made the scratches and put on the vaccine. He and Ssu-mei had stood together in a warm corner of the courtyard, while they dried. Ping-tzu almost missed going to Hsiao Kang Tzu. Teacher didn't want him to come, because Ch'en Ta-sao's baby had died. "What difference does it make? 'If you don't have smallpox living, you'll have it in your coffin,'" Grandmother had quoted an old saying. "We don't believe that now," Mrs. Teng spoke up quickly. Then Dr. Teng had said that since Ping-tzu had been over other days, since he was vaccinated, it would be all right for him to go. At first he held tightly to the teacher's hand, trying to keep up with Dr. and Mrs. Teng. Finally Ping-tzu and Ssu-mei dropped back and walked more slowly while Teacher went ahead with the doctors.

When Ping-tzu and Ssu-mei arrived at Hsiao Kang Tzu, people all gathered in the yard of the ancestral hall where the nursery school would be held as soon as the smallpox epidemic was a little past. A big table was in the middle of the courtyard, and Dr. Teng's medicines were on it. Pao-chen was standing off to one side, with her sleeve dropped off of one shoulder and held tightly under one arm, while she dried the vaccine on her arm. Ping-tzu went over to her and looked at her vaccination. It looked just like his. He pulled his blouse open to show his vaccination to Pao-chen. Ch'en Ta-sao was sitting in one sunny corner of the courtyard, but not talking to anyone. "She is *ou ch'i* because her baby died," Pao-chen told Ping-tzu. "My mother tried to comfort her, but she won't talk to anyone. She is *ou ch'i*." "Who else will be vaccinated?" Dr. Teng asked looking around at the people who were gathered.

Yeh Ta-sao came out of her door, and carried her new baby for Dr. Teng to see. The baby whimpered. "You are too late; the



child already has smallpox. Just keep him well covered till he is better," he said. Ma Ta-sao carried her fat six-months-old baby over to where Yeh Ta-sao stood. The baby reached out a chubby hand and grabbed Yeh Ta-sao's baby. "Look how big and strong my son is," carolled Ma Ta-sao. Mrs. Teng came up. "Ma Ta-sao, you'd better get this baby vaccinated before it is too late!" she urged. "What big lustrous eyes he has, a beautiful child! You must get him vaccinated," she exclaimed as she looked at him more closely. Ma Ta-sao drew back clasping her child to her. "No, no, it is the Year of the Cow, I cannot have him vaccinated." Little Chung-tzu stood pulling at her mother's trouser leg. "Take me up, take me up," she demanded. Her mother laughed down at her. "I can't take you up, I must feed my son," she replied as she unbuttoned her blouse and placed the nipple of a full rounded breast into the baby's mouth. Chung-tzu who was just the age of Ping-tzu began to cry loudly.

Just then a shuffle began near the doctor's table. Wen Te-chiang was shoving forward his reluctant younger brother, Wen Te-sun. "Go on and get vaccinated," he urged. "I won't be vaccinated!" shouted Wen Te-sun, as he tried to wriggle out of the grasp of his older brother. At that moment their father came into the gate. "Obey your second elder brother," he called out to Te-sun. "What is all the trouble?" he asked as he drew nearer. "He's got to be vaccinated," explained Wen Te-chiang. Immediately their father became greatly excited and shouted more loudly still. "Turn him loose; don't you know it's the Year of the Cow, and he can't be vaccinated!" Wen Te-sun quickly seized the opportunity and ran to the doorway ready to make a complete exit if necessary. "The teacher says we must be vaccinated," Wen Te-chiang answered his father in a respectful tone. The father turned to the teacher and fell on his knees before her. "Teacher, please excuse my sons," he begged with clasped hands upraised. "It's the Year of the Cow and they cannot be vaccinated. They are my only hope for the family line. My eldest son has gone to war. The worthless daughter is at school in the War Orphanage. These are my only hope for the family line. Please excuse them from vaccination." "Get up, get up," hastily interjected the teacher. "The matter is not urgent." No one told the father that Wen Te-chiang had already been vaccinated at school.

## OPENING THE NURSERY SCHOOL

Ping-tzu and his friends had waited and waited for the nursery school to open. It was two weeks after the vaccinations and almost everyone was over the smallpox now. Ping-tzu was happy for at last the nursery school had opened. As they came past the house of Ma Ta-sao, Teacher stopped to speak to her. Little Chung-tzu was playing happily in the yard when they arrived. When she saw them, she ran into the house to her mother. Ma Ta-sao's fat chubby baby had died of the smallpox. She came to the door, carrying Chung-tzu who smiled down at Ping-tzu. She unbuttoned her blouse, and put the nipple into Chung-tzu's mouth, saying to the teacher as she did so, "My son has died! Two years ago Eldest Son died of smallpox, and now Third Son has died. I have only Second Daughter left." She cuddled Chung-tzu more closely in her arms, as the tears streamed down her face. "Chung-tzu is nearly three years old and should come to the nursery school," Teacher said. Chung-tzu stopped nursing and cast one eye down at Ping-tzu, then snuggled against her mother again. "I'll bring her when she has finished nursing. She likes her mother's milk, don't you, Chung-tzu?" she said. "My sons won't stay with us, I have only little Chung-tzu left," she said, crying again. "You will get another baby next year," said Teacher as she and Ping-tzu started to school. When they entered the school yard, Yeh Ta-sao came out of her doorway carrying the baby who had had the smallpox. How funny the baby looked all tiny with his face covered with pockmarks. He was ugly that way. Ping-tzu didn't have any pockmarks for he had been vaccinated and didn't get the smallpox.

## GOING TO NURSERY SCHOOL

Yeh Hung-ying had come with Wen An-pao to go to school with Ping-tzu and the teacher. It was shorter for them to go over the hill from their houses to nursery school but they liked to walk along the level path by the stream from their house to Ping-tzu's house and they liked to go with the teacher. When Ping-tzu saw them he knew it was about time for school, so he started toward the big brass family washpan placed on the edge of the porch. Grandmother had seen them, and she too had started toward the washpan. Ping-tzu could wash his own face but Grandmother or Big Aunt always did it and he enjoyed having them do it. Walking



up beside the pan, he waited for Grandmother to put her hand in, dip up a handful of water, and with one large swiping rotary motion, wash his forehead, chin, cheeks and almost rub off his nose. Then she wiped his face the same way. His hair had only grown out a wee bit since it was shaved last month so he did not have to comb his hair. Grandmother pulled up his trousers, retied the waist cord, adjusted his jacket nicely over the top of the trousers, buttoned the neck button and patted him. He was happy. He liked those flowered trousers (black and white check—any goods not plain is flowered). His mother had woven the cloth and made it pretty, not plain white like his blouse. Big Aunt had cut it. Last week when the teachers came from town one of them sewed it, while the other teacher helped Big Aunt to sort cotton. Today he could wear it. He smoothed his hand down the leg of his trousers. It felt just like the blouse but it looked prettier. He was all ready to go. Hu-tzu had come and he wandered over to the vicinity of Hu-tzu to wait. Teacher was ready, so they started. The children all ran from the front door, down the path, around the vegetable garden, along the path by the creek. "Go slowly, go slowly," the teacher called. "Don't slide down that bank into the water." Hu-tzu got to the stream first and crossed boldly on the little stones and safely climbed the other bank. Wen An-pao was next. He raced across the stream, slipping one foot into the water, and raced up the other bank. Ping-tzu and Hung-ying waited for Teacher to hold their hands and one by one crossed safely on the little stones, and climbed up the other steep slick bank. They then raced to catch up with the boys ahead. The boys had stopped beside the field where Mrs. Hwang and Big Sister Hwang were digging sweet potatoes. Each had a raw sweet potato in his hand and was already eating it when Teacher caught up. "It's dirty, take it to school and we'll wash it first and then eat it," said Teacher. She was too late. Wen An-pao stuffed the last bite into his mouth as she spoke. Hu-tzu wiped the earth from the remaining half of his sweet potato and ate it. They all walked along together exclaiming over this and that. Finally, they rounded the hill and came in sight of the clump of bamboos where the nursery school was located. They yelled and ran to meet the four or five other children who came tumbling down the path from the houses. Wen An-pao fell down and didn't wait any more for the teacher to tell him to get up,

but picked himself up and hurried on. Yeh Hung-ying tumbled, rolled over a complete somersault, and lay there laughing as she waited for the Teacher to pick her up. Ping-tzu ran a while then stopped and sat down on the edge of the path to wait for the teacher. He looked and looked at the bamboo clump. You couldn't see a single house in it. Just then the teacher and Hung-ying caught up and he went on with them.

The children from Hsiao Kang Tzu, where the nursery school was located, met them. Pao-chen insisted on holding one of Teacher's hands. Little Chung-tzu held the other hand, so Ping-tzu walked on ahead. He went around the edge of the sweet potato field where Pao-chen's mother and father were digging sweet potatoes, past that open well, and up the steep little path through the bamboos and came to the houses. There were so many houses that he couldn't count them all. He always counted to five and stopped. The older boys said there were ten. He knew ten but didn't know in between five and ten. Teacher stopped to talk to Chung-tzu's mother and see the new baby while Ping-tzu went on to the nursery school yard.

Hu-tzu grabbed a broom and with Ch'en Pao-chen started to sweep the ancestral hall where the nursery school was held. Wen Te-sun was dressed in his blue cross-stitch apron put on wrong side out to keep it clean and not wear out the flowers. He wore his red town-cap with the bill on one side. Getting a broom, he started vigorously to sweep the yard. By the time the teacher arrived, the ancestral hall and the yard were both a swirl of dust. Ping-tzu tinkered leisurely in one corner of the yard. "Sweep gently," called the teacher. "Hu-tzu, sprinkle a little water on the floor and don't sweep so hard in those corners where the earth is broken," she suggested. Pao-chen and Wen Te-sun's older brother brought a little bucket of water and set it on the edge of the porch ready to wash hands. Various children came into the courtyard, carrying their stools under their arms. Ping-tzu had left his there, as did Hung-ying, Hu-tzu, and Wen An-pao. Their families had enough stools so they could get along without them night and morning. There was a new child from the Wei family. He hadn't brought his stool. He would sit on the long low bench which Liang Pao Chang had sent.

The teacher blew the whistle for nursery school to begin. Ping-

tzuz with the other children went in an orderly manner into the ancestral hall for nursery school. Each sat on his own stool. When almost everyone was seated, Chung-tzu took her stool and moved over next to the teacher. After everyone was quiet, Teacher said, "We will first go to the toilet and then wash hands." They went to the goat shed where there were two big manure buckets for toilet use. Ping-tzu waited for his turn to go in. When he came out, he waited to wash his hands till all the pushing ones were finished. Wen Te-sun always shoved with his two hands. Ch'en Kwei-ying was worst of all for she elbowed him and scolded just as her mother did. When they were all back in the ancestral hall and seated, they sang a song. As they did the motion songs, they bumped into each other, for the room was crowded. Then the teacher called their names. Ping-tzu liked to stand up when his name was called and answer, "Here I am." The new child from the Wei family didn't know to stand up to answer and the teacher told him how to do it.

"The sun is shining today so we will have nursery school out of doors," announced the teacher. "When I blow the whistle, go to the bamboo grove on the hillside where the graves are," she said, and blew her whistle. They all marched to the outer gate just as the big school children did. From there, most of the children ran to see who could be first to reach the bamboo grove. Ping-tzu didn't run. He walked just in front of Teacher because Chung-tzu and Hung-ying each held one of her hands. He stopped to pick some wild yellow chrysanthemums and some blue flowers and gave them to Teacher. She liked flowers.

When they reached the bamboo grove where the graves were, Wen Te-sun and Hu-tzu had already built a stove in the play-house. "See our stove, Teacher, we made it just like the big boys made theirs in the house at school," Wen Te-sun called loudly. "It is a good stove. Who is the cook today?" Teacher asked. "I am the cook," Pao-chen announced. "The sweet potatoes are boiling but I have no vegetables." Ping-tzu gathered some grass and gave it to her. "Here is some spinach from our garden," he said. Hung-ying came back with leaves from the yellow chrysanthemum. "Here is 'bitter vegetable' from our garden. It is good with sweet potatoes!" she said as she began to break up the leaves ready for cooking. Wen An-pao was standing partly on the wall of the house. "Please

put some fuel into the fire, Ping-tzu," said Pao-chen politely. "I'll do it," said Wen An-pao. "No, you get away, I will do it," said Wen Te-sun, pushing him. When the two boys scuffled together they broke the wall of the house in one place. Hu-tzu gathered up the big stones and began to rebuild the wall while Ping-tzu fed some little twigs into the tiny stove firebox. Hung-ying prepared big leaves to use as bowls and broke little sticks into equal lengths for chopsticks. "Dinner is ready," said Pao-chen. Each child took a big leaf and chopsticks. They ate quickly and smacked their lips to show how good it was.

"We will take our rest on top of the big rock," said Teacher. They all ran to the big rock and scrambled up its sides. Only Chung-tzu waited for the teacher to help her up. Pao-chen helped the new Wei child to get to the big flat top. Ping-tzu didn't feel sleepy when he stretched out on top of the warm rock. Wen Te-sun and Wen An-pao were pushing each other and talking and then . . . "oooh, oooh, oooh, oooooooh!" Ping-tzu heard the teacher crow as the rooster did in the morning and he waked up. Everyone laughed and jumped up quickly. "Who can find some colored leaves?" asked Teacher. They started to climb down the rock to hunt. When Ping-tzu came to the side of the big rock and looked down, Wen Te-sun who had not rested was way down below. Wen Te-sun was never tired. He had built a dam in the little stream that ran into the big creek below the big rock. He had placed many big stones in the water to dam it off. As Ping-tzu looked he lugged another big stone and dropped it into the stream with a little splash for there wasn't much water.

Stopping to wipe the sweat from his eyes, Wen Te-sun ran to a bush to get red berries for teacher. Ping-tzu gathered some red leaves from the sweet potato vines in a nearby field. He didn't want to walk as far as the red berries for he was tired. Pao-chen brought some deep yellow leaves from the bamboo. The new Wei child returned with some green leaves. He didn't know other colors yet. When they had all brought their leaves, they sang:

"How pretty are the bright red leaves.  
Who will buy my pretty red leaves!"

"It's time to go home," Teacher said. They lined up in a row on top of the big rock and bowing politely altogether they said:



"Good-bye, Teacher." Then they bowed to each other and said: "Good-bye, little friends," and scattered down the side of the rock. Hu-tzu went directly home, taking the Wei child with him. Pao-chen and Ch'en Keui-ying went to the fields to call their mothers to study.

Ping-tzu and Hung-ying waited while Teacher taught the mothers to read. They played on the hillside in the playhouse which they had all worked for several days to help build. Ping-tzu just sat on the foot of a grave mound while Hung-ying made a supper and served it to him. After they had eaten the meal made by Hung-ying, they heard a sudden shout, and Wen Te-sun, Pao-chen and Wen An-pao came bounding out of the bamboos into the playhouse which the nursery school children had built. Wen An-pao stumbled as he got there, but righted himself. "Let's sing 'Grind the Mill,'" said Te-sun. "All right," they all agreed. Pao-chen ran to Ping-tzu and took his hands. Wen An-pao edged nearer and wanted to play with Hung-ying, but Wen Te-sun pushed him aside: "No, get away, your hands are all sore and funny. We don't like to hold them. I'll sing it with Hung-ying," and he took hold of Hung-ying's hands. Wen An-pao just sat down on the edge of a grave apart from them a bit. Placing the right foot forward, and the left a little back, each couple joined both hands and faced each other. They threw back their heads and pulled back and forth to the rhythm of the grinding mill as they chanted:

*Grinding the Bean Curd*

"Pull it out, push it in,  
That's the way to grind the beans.

"Pull it hard, grind it neat,  
Make it soft for baby to eat.

"If it's soft and good to eat  
I'll give it to——" "Pao-chen," shouted Ping-tzu.  
"Ping-tzu," shouted Pao-chen.

"If it's coarse and hard to eat  
I'll give it to——" "Nobody will eat" they all  
shouted together.

Wo-o-o-o, overhead they heard an airplane. Instantly everyone raced down the hill to an open field where they could see it.

There is was; a great silver one. "It's going to Chengtu carrying the letters," Pao-chen importantly informed them. Pao-chen's mother was learning to read and had gone to town for a training period. Pao-chen had recently made herself responsible for giving the other children plenty of information. They looked and looked until the plane was a tiny speck in the sky. Then they all spontaneously began the airplane song. "Get over, so there's room to make the plane," said Te-sun giving Wen An-pao a push. The others spread themselves out, acting as they sang:

"Listen to a sound nearby, WO-O-O-O-O  
It's a big bird flying high, WO-O-O  
Look, oh look, hear, oh hear,  
It's an airplane in the sky, WO-O-O-O-O,"

and swooping down to a landing at the end. They had just finished when they heard the teacher call, "Ping-tzu, Hung-ying, we are going now," and there she was way up on the hill path that led to Shu Ho Pa where Hung-ying and Wen An-pao lived.

#### VISITING HUNG-YING'S HOUSE

They were going to visit at Hung-ying's house. When they reached the ridge of the hill, they could look down and see Mam-P'o's new house with the tile roof off to the left. Ping-tzu began again his game of "Hunting the House." He and Hung-ying played the game as they walked beside Teacher. They couldn't see Hung-ying's house at all. There was that great wall of tall bamboos and only one roof showed. Ping-tzu didn't even know who lived there! They could just see the tips of two other houses and called out simultaneously, "There's a house!" They counted together, "One, two, three bits of roofs." They played the game all the way down the hill as they walked slowly beside Teacher who now and then cautioned them, "Be careful, there is a sharp stone." Inside the wall of bamboo trees they went around several houses to Hung-ying's house and went in.

Hung-ying's mother Yeh Ta-sao was cooking dinner. "How many houses are there?" Ping-tzu asked Wen Hung-en, Hung-ying's father. He looked surprised that anyone should ask that. "Don't mind him, they are learning to count at the nursery school," explained the teacher to Wen Hung-en. "There are

thirty-seven houses here, and only one house where you live," replied Wen Hung-en in a kindly voice. He was used to answering Hung-ying's questions. Hung-ying's mother cut some joints of sugar cane, peeled back a bit at one end and handed a piece to each of the children, and one to the teacher. Wen Hung-en walked over to the table and helped himself to a piece. "I came to remind you of the parents' meeting tomorrow," said the teacher. "The leaders will come from town. The Public Health Nurse will talk about family life in Denmark where she came from." "Yes, we'll come," replied Wen Hung-en. "Her Chinese is good and we understand her better than the other one who used to live in the North. We will dig the sweet potatoes in the field near Hsiao Kang Tzu. When the meeting is ready, send Hung-ying down to call us," he requested of the teacher. "The meeting will only take an hour and not delay your work," promised the teacher as she went out still eating the sugar cane. Ping-tzu and Hung-ying ran ahead of her all down that long line of houses, eating the sugar cane, and spitting out the pulp, as they skipped along.

When they came to Chiang Er-sao's house, they found her crying. Ever since her little nursery school boy died she cried when she saw the children. They still remembered the funeral and the wreaths which they had helped to make at school. Chiang Er-sao promised to attend because she always went to every gathering and she always cried. When they had visited all the nursery school families, they started toward home. Hung-ying escorted them to the edge of her father's rice field. When they got to Mam-P'o's house, they stopped to see her. She had only a wee baby grandchild, but she always went to the parents' meeting. "All fifteen of my children died, and this one I have now is my nephew whom I adopted to carry on the family line," she always informed everyone, comfortably settling down into the biggest chair, for she was fat. Ping-tzu liked her. She always gave him peanuts, or a cake from town. After they had told her about the meeting they went home for dinner.

#### ATTENDING CHURCH

Attending church must be fun because all the big folks did it. It was Sunday night and Big Aunt had promised Ping-tzu that he might stay up for church. Teacher had come back early from

church in town. Hua-en and Big Brother Ch'en, and Wen Te-chiang—the big boys—had arranged the benches ready for church. They shoved the school desks all over to the edge or put them against the wall in front, then placed benches in rows for church. Ssu-mei helped the teacher to prepare the table in front. They had put the teacher's pretty cloth on it. Ssu-mei placed the bamboo vase with the wild flowers in it on the table. Ch'en Big Brother had picked the flowers on the hillside. Ping-tzu looked at the pink roses in the midst of the little white fuzzy flowers that stuck out so prettily. Teacher had put the big song sheets over the blackboard. He could hardly see them with only the one little oil lamp lighted hanging on the side wall. When the big three-mouthed lamp was lighted above the table, it would be plain. Everyone could sing them even if they couldn't see the words. He couldn't read the words but he had learned it from hearing others sing it. The big boys and girls had practiced their special song which they would stand up in front and sing. Liang *Pao Chang* had come over soon after Teacher got back to prepare to lead the evening church. "I was working in the lower field and saw you pass on the high road, so I came right over to ask you to help me prepare," he had said. He and Teacher had hunted through the book to find the proper service to use just before the rice-planting time. Ping-tzu walked about and looked at everything. It must be about time for the people to come, for everything was ready. He would just sit down by Grandfather for a while. He sat down on his little stool beside Grandfather's big chair and leaned his head against Grandfather's knee. "Ping-tzu, you are sleepy, go to bed," boomed Grandfather. "I told him he could go to church for a while," Big Aunt interposed. "Church will be late and he's sleepy now. By the time people come in from the fields and get their supper it will be nine o'clock, at least," replied Grandfather. Ping-tzu knew by the tone of his voice that he wouldn't make him go to bed yet, but would let him go to church.

Now the people were beginning to come. Liang *Pao Chang* arrived and with him Hu-tzu and his mother with the baby tied onto her back. Hu-tzu came over and sat down beside Ping-tzu. His mother walked into Teacher's room. Liang *Pao Chang* went to the table and picked up a book. He opened it and began to read over the service which he had practiced in the afternoon. "Hua-en,"



called Teacher. "Light the three-mouthed lamp and hang it above the table, the people are coming." "I'll hang my lamp on the post," Liang *Pao Chang* stated as he fitted the little hole in the pottery lamp over the bamboo peg in the side of the post. Hua-chung came over from their room, bringing their lamp and hung it on another post. The lights looked all blurry—Ping-tzu was awakened by Big Aunt's hand on his shoulder. She led him across the courtyard to the service. She had set their own low comfortable chair at the edge of the seats near the front where both she and Ping-tzu could see easily. She sat down in it and took Ping-tzu on her lap.

Liang *Pao Chang* stood by the table, in that little space between the table and the boys and girls on the front row. He passed the books from the table over the heads of the children to some of the fathers. Then he gave the rest of the books to the big boys and girls who could read them. Ping-tzu looked about as the books were passed. There was Father in the middle; he didn't know when he had come. Wen Te-chiang sat on a school desk near Ping-tzu and kicked his feet until Teacher told him to keep still. Liang *Pao Chang* said: "We will open the church. We will have five minutes' meditation." Everyone stood and bowed his head reverently. Ping-tzu had to stand up because Big Aunt did. He looked around to see the people.

"The meditation is closed," said Liang *Pao Chang*. Everyone raised his head and stirred a little. "We will now sing the song on the sheet here," said Liang *Pao Chang*. And they all sang:

"Shoulder your hoe and go to work,  
God has sent the morning sun."

That was the song which Ping-tzu could sing all the way through. Even Big Aunt moved her lips a little toward singing that song. Then a second one was announced: "This Is My Father's World," but it was too hard. Ping-tzu didn't understand the words of that one because they were too long. Liang *Pao Chang* opened the books to read and told the people what page to find. Ping-tzu's father opened the book and so did Hua-en and Hua-chung and Ssu-mei. Liang *Pao Chang* read, then all the others read together in reply and so on till they were finished. Then it was time for Ssu-mei and Hua-en and the big boys and girls to sing. They all looked at

Teacher. She nodded her head. They stood up. Wen Te-chiang climbed over several people, so that he could stand close to the others to sing. They sang well and didn't forget. Teacher looked happy. Big Aunt led Ping-tzu into the house. She sat on the edge of the bed while he kicked off his straw sandals and crawled into bed. He moved way over to the back side next to the curtains, so as to leave room for Hua-en and Hua-hui when they came to bed. "I am going back to church now," he heard Big Aunt say as he went to sleep.

#### PREPARING FOR THE FESTIVAL

The Children's Festival! The Children's Festival! Ping-tzu had heard it talked about for ever and ever. Nobody quite knew what to do at a Children's Festival. It was one of those new festivals which the government told them to celebrate. They'd never paid any attention to it before. "Who ever heard of celebrating for children!" shouted Grandfather. "Except for the First Full Month and then only for the boys," Grandmother commented drily. It was that man from the Seminary in Chengtu who had suggested celebrating Children's Festival by holding a children's health contest and program. Ping-tzu hadn't paid much attention when the grown-ups talked. It was when they spoke about who could enter the contest and mentioned his own name that he had listened. Would they take only babies? or was it for the school children? He didn't know just when it was decided but one day he heard Teacher tell Big Aunt and Grandmother that it was finally settled. The little baby wouldn't get in because the contest would take only children two to eight years old. "Then Ping-tzu will get in," said Grandmother laying her hand on his head and smiling down with her eyes. Ping-tzu was happy that he could be in the contest. But he had waited and waited and it seemed as if the Children's Festival would never come. Ssu-mei made the baby a sunsuit by the new pattern. It was for the exhibit, but it would be the baby's afterwards. It was still too cool in Fourth Month for her to wear it anyhow. The baby could wear it when the weather was hot, Ssu-mei had told Ping-tzu. Hua-en had made a nest of bamboo joints which fitted into each other. It was for the exhibit too, but it would be his very own when the exhibit was over. Then he could play with it and even take it to nursery school if he wanted to.

Miss Shih, the health nurse, and the teachers from town had come yesterday. Ssu-mei had led them to visit all the people and invite them to bring their children for examinations for the contest. Ssu-mei had told about it when she got back. "We didn't go to the homes of our own nursery school children. Teacher told them all this morning. First we went to the Weis'," Ssu-mei said, counting the places off on her fingers. "Then we went to the Ch'ens' and that Chen family just beside the Ch'ens'. Then we visited all those Ch'en families up on the hill the other side of the Ch'en family home. And then," she paused and her eyes sparkled, "and then we went to the Hwangs'." "Not to the Hwangs'!" Big Aunt exclaimed. Ssu-mei nodded her head. "Miss Shih wanted to go everywhere. There are lots and lots of houses in the Hwang family home. And they all have tiled roofs, like Mam-P'o's new house," she explained turning especially to Ping-tzu. "Lots of houses, as many as at Sha Ho Pa, but their dogs are fierce. My, I was scared, but Miss Shih wasn't afraid." "I'll never go near the Hwangs' and those fierce dogs, not even to see the houses with tile roofs," Ping-tzu replied. "But the Hwangs won't come!" stated Big Aunt with finality. "We asked everyone and told them to bring all the children two to eight years old for examination tomorrow when the doctor comes," Ssu-mei finished her recital and started to carry the dishes to set the table for supper.

#### GETTING EXAMINED FOR THE HEALTH CONTEST

This was the day the doctor was coming to give the examinations and it would be at Ping-tzu's house. Grandmother was washing Ping-tzu. "The doctor will take off your jacket and look at you to see if you are strong, and you must be clean all over," she said as she scoured his upper body after she had washed his face. People were already beginning to come. Wang Ta-niang had brought Hung-ying. Pao-chen and her mother and Chung-tzu and her mother and of course, Wen Te-sun with all of the folk from Hsiao Kang Tzu. Wen An-pao had come with Hung-ying. There were those Weis! Lots of them. Some of the children were already crying, and the doctor hadn't even come yet. Ping-tzu had stood first on one foot and then on the other, while Grandmother washed him and the people came. Now, she was through, and he sat down on the edge of the porch just to look. "The *hua-kan* are here," the cry was

tossed from one mouth to another and a general movement toward the outer gate began. Hua-en, as the man of the house (Hua-chung had gone to town and Grandfather was too old) went outside the big gate to meet the doctor and nurse. He, together with Miss Shih and Teacher, made a path through the people into the courtyard.

A big table was placed in the middle of the courtyard with benches all around it. The doctor drank his cup of tea quickly and got ready to examine the children. The nurse, dressed in blue just like Miss Shih, opened the doctor's bag and laid out things on the table. Ping-tzu couldn't see for the crowd. He pushed in nearer the table but then he was under its edge and instead of climbing up on the benches so near to the doctor, he went back to the porch and stood up on his stool. He could see everything! The doctor stood up and addressed the crowd. "Everyone who is examined must be vaccinated. It is the regulation of our County Health Bureau. When I write your name down here on the card, today, you may come any time after this to the health bureau and bring your children if you want to be cured of any disease. You can come just like the town people any time." He sat down.

"Now, who will be the first?" he asked. Wang Ta-niang shoved Hung-ying through the crowd. "She isn't afraid when I bring her. Her mother couldn't come, so I brought her," she explained to the crowd in general. Wang Ta-niang unbuttoned Hung-ying's blouse and slipped it off leaving her bare to her waist. The doctor looked at her eyes, and throat, and listened to her with a funny shining thing from his ears. The nurse vaccinated her just as Miss Shih had vaccinated them last year. Then Wen Te-sun stepped up. Neither Hung-ying nor Wen Te-sun had cried so it must not hurt. Big Aunt gently propelled Ping-tzu toward the doctor. She unbuttoned his upper garment and slipped it off. He was watching Wen Te-sun and didn't notice when he was vaccinated. "Now, stand over there till you dry," directed the nurse. He joined Hung-ying and Wen Te-sun in a protected corner of the yard. The Wei children howled even though their mothers stood beside them while they were vaccinated. Chung-tzu was the only one of the nursery school children who cried. Mam-P'o was there. She didn't have any children since their baby was too little to get in the contest. She came with the Sha Ho Pa folk to look. The Hwangs were all there. Ssu-mei pointed them out to Ping-tzu. They had brought several



children. They would not allow them to be examined. They only came to look! When the vaccinations dried, they put on their blouses. People began to leave in little groups. When Hung-ying and Wen An-pao and all others finished, Wang Ta-niang and Mam-P'o called them and they left together. As they departed, Miss Shih and Teacher called out, "Come back tomorrow. Tomorrow is the big Children's Festival program." And after each group they called, "Come back tomorrow." Then Ssu-mei and Hua-en also joined them and called, "Come back tomorrow, right after dinner. Tomorrow will be the big program." And slowly they were all gone. The nurse put the things back into the bag. The doctor washed his hands. They were escorted out of the big gate by Miss Shih and Teacher. Hua-en, as man of the family, went with them outside as they got into their *hua kan*. The carriers hoisted the *hua kan* to their shoulders. They bent their knees to make it low for the doctor to get in. He gave a little hop and sat neatly in the *hua kan*. "Go slowly, go slowly," called everyone after them. Ping-tzu hadn't noticed when the nurse got into her *hua kan*.

"Shang shan p'o  
Man man tsou."

"Ahead is a hill," sang out the head carrier.

"Go slowly still," chanted the other carrier in reply.

And they were gone over the top of the hill!

#### CELEBRATING CHILDREN'S FESTIVAL

Right after breakfast, Hua-en, Wen Te-chiang, and Ch'en Big Brother and all the big boys went to grind the beans which they had put to soak the night before. Ping-tzu had poked his finger into them. They were all wrinkled. He had tasted the whole wheat cakes which the town folk had made and baked in Teacher's *kuo* the night before. They tasted good. Ping-tzu couldn't decide where it was most fun. When the boys started off to grind the beans, he started to go with them. But Grandfather had boomed out: "You stay here, Ping-tzu." He went into Teacher's room but nobody noticed him. So he went back to the porch and sat on the stool beside Grandfather's big chair. He leaned his head against Grandfather's knee and went to sleep. When the boys brought the beans back he

watched Miss Shih and the big girls make the bean-milk. "Make a big kettle full, there'll be lots and lots of folks," Ssu-mei urged Miss Shih. Before it was cooked, the boys had brought the wild roses which they cut from the hillsides. Those long full sprays of Seven-li-fragrance did smell good. They looked pretty too, when they were woven into the bamboo screen and suspended from the porch rafters. The square table was moved into the center of the porch. The sheet brought from town was stretched across the front, covering their living room door. Ping-tzu couldn't see any door at all. Everything looked quite different. He hardly knew his very own home. The clothes which the girls and mothers had made were put onto the bamboo clothes pole just to the left of the table on the porch. He looked through the clothes to find the play suit which Ssu-mei had made. The boys began to bring in the benches from all the houses and arrange them in the courtyard ready for people to sit down.

The nursery school stools were placed in the two front rows, almost against the porch and just below the clothing exhibit. Finally the crowd was there. Teacher blew the whistle and announced, "All little friends of the nursery school come up to the two rows of front seats. All visitors, please sit down and stop talking. We will open the meeting." Ping-tzu and Pao-chen sat down. Hung-ying left her mother and came up front. Wen An-pao sat down. When almost everyone was seated, Wen Te-sun came pushing and elbowing through the people and climbed over many other children and sat down next to Hung-ying and Ping-tzu. Hua-en and the big boys kept opening the crowd and pushing other children through. They made Chung-tzu leave her mother and sit with the nursery school children. "Never mind, I'll sit right behind you," Chung-tzu's mother assured her, when she wanted to cry.

Ch'en Big Brother mounted the platform and stood beside the table. "Will everyone stop talking, please; we will now open the meeting," he said, just like Liang *Pao Chang* or any of the grown-ups, when they opened a meeting. Ping-tzu and Hung-ying did a finger play while he talked. Then Hua-en made a speech and then it was time for Ping-tzu and their part of the program. The nursery school children crowded onto the porch in front of the table. The end of a rose spray scratched Hung-ying but she didn't cry. Wen Te-sun pushed a little hard against the table and the bamboo vase

of roses tipped over and spilled the water on Teacher's pretty tablecloth. "Never mind, it will dry," Teacher said as she set the vase beside the post on the porch floor. Then they did their motion songs, "Grind the Mill to Make Bean Milk," "The Airplane Song," "Three Year Old," "The Moon Shines Bright," "The Little Rat."

"New red shoes on Three Year Old,  
He starts to school so very bold,  
The teachers say: 'You're very small  
Drink bean-milk and grow quite tall.'"

"The moon shines bright,  
Go on the river as soon as it's light,  
Wash your clothes very clean,  
Go to school, not ashamed to be seen."

"Little rat ran up the lamp one night  
To steal some oil, he got a fright.  
'Mama, mama, quickly come, I cannot hold,'  
Tumble, tumble, tumble, right down he rolled."

When they finished the Little Rat, rolling him down with their hands, Wen Te-sun and Hung-ying started to laugh as they always did at school and then everybody in the meeting laughed too, as they left the platform and sat down. When the big girls and mamas told about the new clothing, Ssu-mei held hers up and started to explain. She got shy and hid her face and turned her back to the crowd. Ping-tzu and all the children laughed at Ssu-mei. Miss Shih helped her to turn around and show folks the play suit, and tell about it.

Then it was time for the prizes. Miss Shih explained: "These are not prizes, but ribbons to show that your health is good. You take them home to paste up on the wall. When people come into the room, they can see that your child has good health. Everyone who has met the standard for minimum good health gets a blue ribbon. Besides this, we have selected those of each age group who are the very best. They will get a red ribbon and the second best of each group will get a yellow ribbon." Ping-tzu wiggled a little. He could hardly wait! Big Aunt, who was standing beside the post, straightened up a little and Grandmother came out from the kitchen door to listen. Then the names were read. Hung-ying got a red

ribbon. One of those Wei children got a yellow ribbon. Ping-tzu didn't get any, neither did Pao-chen, but Wen Te-sun got a yellow ribbon. They all clamored to feel Hung-ying's and Wen Te-sun's ribbons. Most of the red ribbons went to the family whose house Ping-tzu could see when he went to Sha Ho Pa.

Teacher was on the platform and talking again, so Ping-tzu and all the children settled down to listen. "This is the Children's Festival," she said. "All the children who were examined for the contest will go first to the other side where the bean-milk is and drink as much bean-milk and eat as many cookies as they want. There are none to take home with you in the regular Chinese way. This is a new festival; you eat the cookies while you are here." Then Ping-tzu and Pao-chen and all the children pushed their way through the people and went to get their bean-milk and cookies. When Ping-tzu had had five cups, Big Aunt pulled him aside. "That is enough, Ping-tzu. You must be full. We want some for the mamas." Then the school children were called to come for their bean-milk. Wen An-pao left the nursery school group and edged over and joined the school children. He drank two more cups of the hot bean-milk. Big Aunt had her arm about Ping-tzu and gently restrained him when he would have edged over with the school children. "Now, it's time for the parents and adult guests and there is still plenty for all," the teacher announced. Mrs. Wen took the hand of Wen Te-sun so hopefully thrust into hers, and led him up to get some more bean-milk. Chung-tzu's mama, Hung-ying's mama, and Pao-chen's mama all went, but none of these children went with their mamas. Only Wen An-pao went again to get bean-milk. Ping-tzu didn't mind. If there were any left over, when everyone else went home, the teacher would give him some more. He stayed happily with Ssu-mei where Big Aunt left him when she and Grandmother went to get their bean-milk and cookies. Wen An-pao tucked a few cookies into his apron pocket to take home, but his mama didn't notice and tell him not to take them. Then they all began to go home. Wang Ta-niang stayed to help clean up everything. Mam-P'o waited for her to finish and went home with her. Ch'en Kuei-ying, Hua-en, and Wen Te-chiang began to carry the benches back home. The town guests and Miss Shih started to walk back to town. "Don't stop to help clean up," Wang Ta-niang said. "If you walk fast you will reach the city gates before dark. I



will help with the work here." They were all gone. Ping-tzu felt tired. He sat down and leaned his head against Grandfather's knee. "Lie down on my bed, Ping-tzu," said Grandfather. He forgot all about the extra bean-milk and, climbing up on Grandfather's big bed, he went to sleep.

## *Chapter 3*

### PING-TZU'S BROTHERS AND SISTERS GROW UP

#### SUMMER TIME

Ping-tzu was four years old. Already he had attended the nursery school for a half year and more and he was now attending the summer session conducted by one of the college girls with Ch'en Kwang-chu assisting her.

It was hot. All night Ping-tzu had slept without any clothes at all. When he awakened in the morning it was still hot. His body was covered with sweat. He got up, put on his trousers and tied them about his waist. Carrying his sleeveless blouse in one hand, he walked through the kitchen where Big Aunt was cooking, out to the porch where the big brass pan of water stood. Placing his blouse on the bench, he took the pan over and emptied the dirty water into the pig trough. The pigs grunted happily as they drank. Everyone left the dirty water in the pan to be used many times and then given to the pigs because water had to be carried a long distance from the stream. Then he put the pan down on the edge of the porch, and getting the gourd dipper, he filled it with clean water. He dipped his hands into the water and washed his face, and then the upper part of his body. It felt cool. Presently he put on his sleeveless blouse and buttoned the big store buttons down the front. He sighed and sat down. When Grandmother was home she did all these things for him. He missed her. Grandfather was gone too and Eldest Sister-in-law. Hua-hui was gone but that was no different from every other day. They were all over at Ping-tzu's father's house for the rice harvest. Ping-tzu usually went with Grandmother when she went to the other home, but he liked to attend the nurs-

ery school and today the medical student was going to give them examinations. He wanted to be here but he did miss Grandmother!

Hua-en was chopping the carrots for the pigs. Ping-tzu had gone with Big Aunt and Grandmother to thin the carrots. They had filled the big basket and Big Aunt brought it home on her back. Now Hua-en was chopping carrots. "Don't hurry to chop them," called Teacher coming from her room. "I would like to have some carrots to cook for my dinner, Grandmother," she called to Grandmother who was resting on the porch since she came in from the field. "You are welcome to them but they are too little to eat. Only pig's food," replied Grandmother laughing at her for wanting the pig's food. Ping-tzu laughed too. "They are young and tender. I will chop them, tops and all, add a little pepper sauce, and fry them in oil," Teacher said. She took quite a big bunch of carrots. When they were ready to eat dinner, Teacher brought a big bowl of the fried carrots to their table. Ping-tzu ate some. Big Aunt ate some. Grandmother ate some. Grandfather snorted and wouldn't eat them. "I'll not eat pig's food," he declared. Everyone laughed and ate some more. They were good.

#### ELDEST BROTHER'S PROBLEM

Ping-tzu did not know they were solving Eldest Brother's problems but just then Eldest Brother (Hua-chung) came from his room. Ping-tzu wondered why Eldest Brother had not gone to help with the rice harvest like Hua-hui and all the workmen. Eldest Brother looked excited as he went toward the big gate. He stopped and whispered something to the medical student who was sitting at a table nearby. The two went out together. Big Aunt came from her kitchen and walked over to Teacher who was standing beside her stove. Big Aunt looked worried. Ping-tzu seated himself on Teacher's doorsill where he could hear what Big Aunt said to Teacher. "He wants to leave again; we must find a way to keep him," Big Aunt said, and Ping-tzu knew she meant Eldest Brother. "He wouldn't go to work today but declared he was going to Chengtu with the college students who will return in the next few days," Big Aunt continued. "Put down your heart; the college students won't take him to Chengtu," Teacher assured her. "It is just like it was with his father," Big Aunt said, wiping away a tear with the back of her hand. "If he would only stay until the baby is

born, maybe he would like to stay then, especially if it were a son!" she added. "Don't worry, we will try to persuade him to stay," Teacher promised her. Big Aunt went slowly back to her kitchen. Ping-tzu moved on into the teacher's room to see the college girls. His own college girl teacher was there. "Are you ready to be examined today, Ping-tzu?" she asked. He nodded his head and smiled at her. She was nice to look at. Her dress was a pretty pink color. Teacher spoke from the doorway. "You must discourage Huachung from going to Chengtu." "Of course, what would he do in Chengtu; he's not prepared to do anything in the city!" replied Ping-tzu's teacher. "Mr. T'ang doesn't want him to go. He should stay here and take his responsibilities as the eldest one should do," she continued.

"Is breakfast ready?" called some of the college girls from the courtyard. They had been on the hillside reading books. Ping-tzu sometimes went up there above his house with them but it was too hot this morning. "You are just in time," said Teacher. "This is your last free morning; next week it's your turn to make the food, and we can go on the hillside early mornings. Call Mr. T'ang to come to breakfast, Ping-tzu." Ping-tzu went out and found Mr. T'ang, the medical student. He and Eldest Brother were sitting under the big bamboos back of the house. Ping-tzu bowed politely as Teacher had told him to, and invited Mr. T'ang to breakfast. They had entered the courtyard ready for breakfast when Ping-tzu's father came past on his way to market. "I am going to market with Ping-tzu's father," announced Eldest Brother. He hurried into his room. Ping-tzu's father sat down and wiped the sweat from his face. Ping-tzu walked over and leaned against his father's knee. "Ping-tzu will have a physical examination by Mr. T'ang today," his teacher said. "He will have a cholera inoculation just as the college students have," she elaborated. "Ping-tzu is getting to be a big boy," his father commented. "You get all through, and I will take you home with me when I return from market," his father promised him. Ping-tzu was glad he could go and see Grandmother and Grandfather and all the excitement of the rice harvest. "What can I do for you in town?" his father asked Teacher.

Just then Eldest Brother came out of his room all dressed up. He was wearing his long blue garment, and his black satin cap and cloth shoes. He walked over to Ping-tzu's father and said, "I will



go to town with you, Second Uncle." "The sun is scorching today, you will die wearing that hat," said Mr. T'ang. "Here, take my big straw hat, I shall be giving physical examinations in the house today and shall not need it." He handed Eldest Brother his new big white straw hat. "No, no, I can't take your hat. Well, all right, I will change and get my straw hat," he said returning to his room. Big Aunt had come out of the kitchen and sat down on a bench near Ping-tzu's father. She looked so sad, Ping-tzu thought she was going to cry again. Eldest Brother returned, this time dressed in his short jacket and black trousers—as on any market day. He had a bundle of clothing under his arm.

"You will be more comfortable that way. The sun is so hot today! Your feet will be uncomfortable in those cloth shoes. Better wear my straw sandals," Mr. T'ang admonished Eldest Brother. "Oh, all right, I will change," retorted Eldest Brother as he turned again to his room. This time he came out wearing his straw sandals and big straw hat, without the bundle under his arm. "Get back early, I will need your help at that community meeting tonight," Mr. T'ang urged Eldest Brother. "We will return early, because I am going to buy meat for the harvesters," Ping-tzu's father said.

"Eldest Sister-in-law," Ping-tzu's father addressed Big Aunt, "Fourth Brother needs Hua-en to help with the harvest. Can you spare him from the work here?" he asked. Hua-en had carried out the big bucket of food for the pig and after pouring it in the trough, he stood listening to the talk around the table. "He can go when he has fed and watered the water-buffalo," she replied. "I have already watered the water-buffalo," said Hua-en. "As soon as I carry some water for Mother and fill Teacher's water jar I shall go over to help."

The college girls brought out several letters for Ping-tzu's father to post. Miss Li brought some money and asked him to buy a piece of meat for them, then Ping-tzu's father and Eldest Brother started to market. Big Aunt went to the back door to watch them go up the hill, and stood there a long time after they were out of sight. When she came back into the courtyard, Mr. T'ang spoke to her. "Rest your heart, Big Aunt, we will try to help him to assume his responsibilities as the eldest one." Hua-en led his goats to the stakes in the ground under the big bamboo clump where it was cool in the shade. "Ping-tzu, you watch them and if the sun shines on

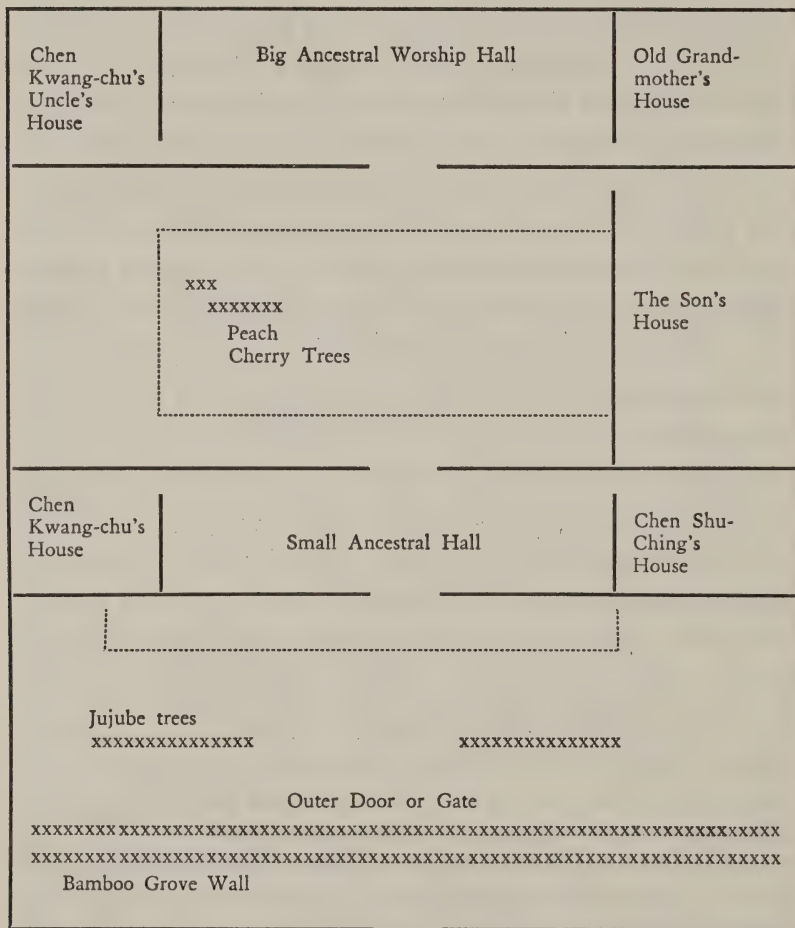
them, call Ssu-mei to move them," he spoke to both of them at the same time. Then Hua-en got his big hat and went to the other place to work. It was quite dark and Ping-tzu was starting to bed when Eldest Brother returned from town and went to his room.

#### THE PARENTS' MEETING

It was the same summer and two weeks later. It seemed like another summer to Ping-tzu. The rice was all harvested. He and Grandmother and Grandfather were all back home again. Ping-tzu could still remember how nice and full his stomach was every day at the other home. There were such good things to eat at rice harvest time! From the time he got there with Father until he came back here again, every meal they had meat to eat. Ping-tzu had sat at a table for grown-up men with Hua-hui and Hua-en. In between meals, his three big sisters had each given him bites of good things which they were cooking. Of course, Grandmother had given him sweets and the extra good things which Father had brought for Grandmother and Grandfather to eat during this time. But it was nice to be home again and go to school each day.

Last week when Hai Hsien-sheng had come, Big Aunt and Grandmother went with Ping-tzu and Teacher to the parents' meeting at Sha Ho Pa. He liked the parents' meetings in the summer better than those at other times. Before it was summer, the meetings were always at Hsiao Kang Tzu and only the mothers and fathers of the nursery school children came. Now it was summer, the meetings were held in the big bamboo grove at Sha Ho Pa. This was the same grove he could see from the top of the hill. He carried Ssu-mei's little wooden stool under his arm. Ssu-mei wouldn't need it at home for she only used it to sit on when she fed the fire. He sat on it between Big Aunt and Grandmother, only a little in front of them. All the fathers and mothers in Sha Ho Pa came, for it was the noon-time rest hour when it was too hot to go to the fields. Eldest Brother went to the summer parents' meeting too, as did all the Youth Group who were in Miss Li's literacy class. Last week one of the college girls from town had brought good things to eat. Ping-tzu and Hu-tzu and Hung-ying and Wen An-pao all got some of the vegetables. Ping-tzu had never tasted tomato before. It looked like sweet peppers but it didn't taste the same. It was sour instead of peppery. Grandmother wanted to taste

## THE CHEN FAMILY ANCESTRAL HALLS AND COMMUNITY



XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
Bamboo  
Grove

Pond

### Chen Shu-chen's House

it. Then Liang Pao Chang got up and said he would try it and walked up to the table and got some. Then ever so many fathers laughed and said they would try it. After that everybody sang:

"How pretty is the red tomato!  
Who will buy my red tomato?"

When they got home, the college girl gave a whole one to Ping-tzu. Grandmother chopped it into quarters and gave a piece to Grandfather who wanted to try it. When he tasted it, he spat it right out of his mouth. So Ping-tzu and Grandmother ate all the rest. Ping-tzu liked it better than he had the first time.

#### THE GOAT SHOW

Judging the goats was the exciting thing that would happen today. The people from town had come. "Teacher, shall we go to nursery school today?" Ping-tzu had asked. "No, Ping-tzu, you know we are going to the goat contest at Ch'en family home. Ch'en Kwang-chu will be expecting you," she smiled at him. "Big Aunt, will you go to the goat show?" he asked. "No, I must work. You go with Teacher and tell me about it," she replied as she draped her headdress over her head and started out into the hot sun. "Grandmother, will you go to the goat show?" he inquired. "You can go with the teacher, I must work," replied Grandmother. "My daughter-in-law and I will work in the garden. Ping-tzu, come with me to gather some vegetables for Hai Hsien-sheng to take home with her. They never have any fresh vegetables in town, always a day or two old," she continued as she and Ping-tzu went to the garden. Ping-tzu talked as he pulled vegetables. "Do you think Hua-en's goat will get the first place?" he asked, as he pulled the big green leafy head of cow's skin vegetable. "Well, I don't know," Grandmother answered. "Hua-en's goat is nice and fat, but Wen Te-chiang's goat is not thin. I felt it when he had it here on the way to the contest. I haven't seen any of the other goats. You can tell me about the goat contest when you return, Ping-tzu," replied Grandmother.

Ping-tzu could hardly wait to get there. The man from the Bureau of Agriculture had gone earlier with the big boys and their goats. Immediately after dinner, he started off with Teacher and Hai Hsien-sheng. On the road, the sun felt pretty hot but they



walked fast and rested in the shade of the big soap-berry tree at the top of Liang Pao Chang's field, and again beside Ch'en Kwang-chu's orange grove. When they came to the Ch'ens' bamboo grove, the goats were all tethered to trees on the hill outside the wall. There was Hua-en standing beside his goat and Hua-hui beside his goat, and Wen Te-chiang beside his and Ch'en Big Brother and all the other big boys. Each boy was standing beside his own goat. The man from the Bureau of Agriculture was squatting beside Ch'en Big Brother's goat and feeling him. Ch'en Kwang-chu's Uncle had a paper and brush pen and an ink slab on the rock beside him. He was writing down what the man told him. Liang Pao Chang, Hu-tzu and Ch'en Kwang-chu's uncle were all there. The grove was full of men for it was the noon rest from the work in the fields. Teacher and Hai Hsien-sheng walked about to see the goats. Ping-tzu played with Hu-tzu and didn't notice when Teacher and Hai Hsien-sheng went into the courtyard. After all the goats were examined and everything written down, they all went into the courtyard. The big boys all led their goats inside, to the big stone paved courtyard. "Tie your goats over there to the jujube trees," directed Ch'en Kwang-chu's uncle. "If they eat the skin off those trees it won't hurt; they are sturdy and will grow again."

#### THE ADULT LITERACY CLASS

The eldest grandmother of Ch'en Kwang-chu's family came up and shouted in a loud voice, "What shall we do? It's too hot to sit in the sun and the big ancestral hall is full of unshelled beans." "Never mind, Grandmother, we will crowd into the small ancestral hall with the adult literacy class," said Teacher. "It's a hot day to squeeze closely together," said Old Grandmother, laughing with relief. Ch'en Kwang-chu's uncle and her father brought more benches, and placed them on the porch on the shady side of the small ancestral hall. The men all gathered and sat down. Ping-tzu sat beside Ch'en Kwang-chu on the doorsill opposite to the men. Hua-hui, Hua-en, Wen Te-chiang and the other big boys stood around in the sun behind the little boys so they could watch their goats outside in that courtyard. Then the program began. "We will sing the songs that this class has learned this summer," Teacher announced. The big girls and women of the literacy class were seated around the tables in the center of the hall. They stood when their

college girl teacher nodded her head. "One, two, three," she counted and they began to sing the "Hoe Song." Ping-tzu sang too. He knew it. The big boys back of him sang lustily. The men across from them sang too. Everybody knew the "Hoe Song." When they sang the "Reading Song," Ping-tzu could only sing the first line but Wen Te-chiang behind him sang it all loudly, and many of the men sang too.

"Learn to read, read for pleasure  
Reading is a priceless treasure.  
When you can't write, when you can't read,  
You are like a blind man, stumbling through the weeds."

After they sang, the teacher announced, "You all know these women could not read or write a word a month ago. Today we will show you how much they have learned." Their college girl teacher called the names. First Ch'en Kwang-chu's aunt went to the blackboard. Ping-tzu couldn't see the blackboard, so he walked out into the middle of the room to look. Some of the men stood up so they could see. Old Grandmother pushed a path noisily through the men in the doorway. "I have carried the baby all summer so my daughter-in-law could learn to write, now I want to see her perform," she announced loudly. Everyone laughed with her. She turned to her son in the doorway, "Your wife will soon be able to write as well as you," she crowed. The people laughed harder as her son turned red in the face. Ch'en Kwang-chu's aunt had her back to the roomful of people. She tucked her head down, but when the words were pronounced, she could write them all correctly. One student after another went to the blackboard and wrote. Ping-tzu got tired and went to sit beside Ch'en Kwang-chu on the doorsill.

Presently Liang *Pao Chang* stood up and said, "We are very pleased to see how well they can write. An educated wife and mother will help to train good sons and daughters and produce a strong China," he said. "Teacher, it is almost time for the men to return to the fields. We will now announce the winners of the goat contest. All of the goats were fat. The boys have cared for them well." The man from the Bureau of Agriculture spoke: "The goats have been well fed." Ping-tzu could hardly wait to hear the names called. Ch'en Kwang-chu's uncle read the names. As he read, the man took the ribbons and gave them to Liang *Pao Chang* with both

hands, very politely. Each boy took the ribbon from Liang *Pao Chang* with both hands and a polite bow.

- I place—a red ribbon . . . . . Wen Te-chiang
- II place—a yellow ribbon . . . . . Big Brother Ch'en
- III place—a blue ribbon . . . . . Kwan Hua-en

"Thank you," the three boys said all together at the end, as they bowed first to the man and then to Liang *Pao Chang*. Then the men went to work and the boys took their goats home.

Ping-tzu didn't go home. He waited for the teacher and Hai Hsien-sheng. Old Grandmother commanded Ch'en Kwang-chu's aunt to get some fruit for the guests. Ping-tzu went with her to pick the peaches from the tree just beside the big ancestral hall. Ping-tzu didn't have peaches at home. These were juicy and stopped his thirst.

#### THE WEDDING THINGS

"Ping-tzu, we are going to see Ch'en Shu-chen's wedding things. Ch'en Kwang-chu is going with us to Shu-chen's house," said Teacher as they started away from the Ch'en family home. They said good-bye to Old Grandmother at her own doorway; Ch'en Kwang-chu's aunt escorted them to the outer gate and bowing low said good-bye to them there. All the pupils stood at the outer gate and called "good-bye" after them. From the outer door of Ch'en Kwang-chu's house Ping-tzu could see the bamboo in front of Ch'en Shu-chen's house with a little bit of the roof sticking out. They walked around the pond and quickly came to her house. When they arrived Big Brother Ch'en was still at home. He was showing the yellow ribbon which he had won in the goat contest. "My son shall be a great scholar and at the same time a good farmer. It is the Chinese way," said his father to Teacher. "He is a bright boy and will make a good scholar if he works," replied Teacher. "When I get rid of this pair of silk stockings, we will have fewer mouths to feed and I can give my son a better education," said Mr. Ch'en, pointing to his daughter.

Ch'en Shu-chen stood with her eyes modestly cast down to the ground. She always had her head high at school and was always smiling. Ping-tzu looked at Shu-chen's mother. Her eyes were all red and he saw her brush the back of her hand across her eyes,

just as Big Aunt did when she cried. "Shu-chen has just chanted to us the marriage song," she explained to Teacher and Hai Hsien-sheng. "Please sing it for us," begged Hai Hsien-sheng. "I have not heard a bride-elect sing it before," she said. Ch'en Shu-chen's father spat a big spit disgustedly and got up and left the house. Big Brother Ch'en stood teasingly by waiting to hear her sing again. So she turned and sang the "Big Brother" section of the song to him:

"Little sister in her room, the tears flow down her face  
Listen, Older Brother, to sister, for a space!  
In other lives we've lived, we've been moulded to perfection  
Coming together in this life, we have formed an affection.  
The big wind blows its parting refrain  
Blown east, blown west, we'll ne'er meet again.  
Our parents are old, I must depart  
To serve them well will be your art,  
When they are in health; or if scourage o'ertake them  
Make greatest speed to me awaken.  
Tomorrow's festive day, you will finish  
Then to study with a will, your work will diminish  
The highest degree shall be your measure  
Your sister, her brother's honor will treasure."

They clapped their hands—Ping-tzu, Teacher, and Hai Hsien-sheng—while Big Brother Ch'en brought out some coins and gave them to her. When they urged her some more she turned to her mother and sang the mother song. This time her tears were real, not make-believe like when she sang to Big Brother Ch'en.

"The willow tree blossoms, its sprays drop one by one,  
Father's and Mother's teaching days are done.  
First you taught me to stitch the flowers and grasses  
Second, in the kitchen to make food that surpasses.  
Third, how to dress with taste and economy  
Fourth, that to spin and weave will bring autonomy.  
Fifth, a temper good, and free from pride  
Sixth, that grace and dignity become a bride.  
Seventh, to every word give careful thought  
Eighth, when eyes are guarded no evil is wrought.  
You've taught that a daughter is her parents' priceless treasure  
When sitting, walking, sleeping all are done in good measure.  
My parents hope to see me a proper woman,  
Wild geese fly from their nest. Is this to them an omen?"



After she had sung, Ch'en Shu-ch'en brought out her embroidery for Teacher and Hai Hsien-sheng to see. The bundle was rolled in white cloth so that the satin inside would not get dirty. She unrolled the white cloth a little so they could see the partially embroidered flowers on the red satin. "Oh, how beautiful it is! The ducks look like real live birds, and the flowers are so natural," said Hai Hsien-sheng. "Our daughter is marrying into a wealthy family," explained her mother. "So we sent her to learn from a professional embroiderer in the city. She must be able to do well." "Shu-ch'en will make a good wife and daughter-in-law. She is bright and knows how to adjust herself to others' needs," commented Teacher. Shu-ch'en's mother wiped her eyes with the back of her hand, and Shu-ch'en wiped away a few tears too, but both of them looked happy. After they had looked at comforts and pillow cases and some old blue cross-stitch embroideries, Ping-tzu and Teacher went home, and Hai Hsien-sheng went back to town.

When they got home Grandmother first asked Ping-tzu about the goat contest. "Our goat got the blue ribbon, Grandmother," Ping-tzu said. "Wen Te-chiang had a fat goat, maybe ours will be first next time," Grandmother replied. Teacher was telling Big Aunt and Ssu-mei about Shu-ch'en's wedding things. "Shu-ch'en doesn't act the same any more," Ssu-mei exclaimed. "At first she cried all the time and didn't want to get married, and now she acts as though she were happy and wanted to leave home and get married." Teacher and Big Aunt smiled at each other. "She is growing up," Big Aunt commented. "She sang some of the marriage songs for us," Ping-tzu told them. "Oh, I can sing them," Ssu-mei boasted. "Shu-ch'en and Shu-ch'ing had the book and practiced and practiced out on the hillside when we played there," Ssu-mei laughed as she recalled it. Laughing and crying all at the same time just as Shu-ch'en had, Ssu-mei sang the song to "Father's Sisters, Elder and Younger":

"Silver tears flow from Niece's eyes,  
Sounds of crying filling all the skies.  
Treatment more than niece, as daughter, was scattered  
Through all her childhood days of endless chatter.  
You guided her in making strands so thin  
While she grew up and finally learned to spin.

Growing like flowers in one garden together  
Howling winds blow, we are pawns of the weather!  
Aunt is blown East, Niece blown South so late  
Shall we meet once more and talk by the Gate?  
Aunt is the Golden flower, Niece is the Silver flower  
Both have blossomed in the very same bower.  
Graciousness flowed through the days like a river so wide  
Generosity like a full larder or wardrobe at my side.  
Sons and grandsons with endless degrees  
Family of renown, for you, Heaven decrees."

Grandmother stood and listened. When Ssu-mei was through, she laughed and said, "You need not sing now, your time will come soon enough!" "We must find a wife for Hua-en," Big Aunt spoke out her thoughts to Teacher. "Don't hurry, let him study a few years," replied the Teacher. "He is getting to be a big boy and must have a wife soon," Grandmother approved Big Aunt's plans. "Now we must begin supper," said Teacher. "The college girls will come home hungry. Ssu-mei, you start the fire and I will wash the rice and start supper for them," and they all scattered to their tasks.

#### THE WEDDING PROCESSION

Ping-tzu got up early to see the wedding procession. It was autumn and Ch'en Shu-ch'en's wedding day. Ping-tzu got up when it was hardly light. Hua-en had promised to awaken him. His eyes were still sleepy as he felt on the bench for his straw sandals, but he hurried into his clothes for fear Hua-en would leave him. When he reached the courtyard there was Teacher with her hair all combed and dressed very nicely. Big Aunt came out of her room buttoning her blouse as she came with her hair not combed. "You'd better hurry or they will be gone," called Grandfather loudly from his bed. Grandmother came out of her room and they hurried toward the hill path. Ping-tzu trotted fast. They could already hear the little keen notes of the fife and the deep sound of the big wooden horn. So they walked faster. They didn't go on the road toward Shu-ch'en's house but up to the main road to town where the procession would have to pass. When they got to the fork of the roads they waited, shivering a little and talking to pass the time. "I helped pack all the things last night," Teacher said, "and ran over early this morning to see if there was anything more I could do.

Everything was all ready for the carriers when they came." Ping-tzu shivered and moved a little closer to Ssu-mei who spread part of her blouse tail about his shoulders. The music started again. "It is a nice wedding with so many musical instruments," said Big Aunt as they listened. "I waited till the wedding chair came and heard Shu-chen sing the Wedding Chair Song. She does sing it better than you, Ssu-mei," said Teacher. They all laughed and Teacher, Big Aunt and Ssu-mei began the chant very softly together:

"The firecrackers popping all ears are aware,  
Little Sister's tears turn to sighs. It's time to prepare!  
Other years these fireworks have burst far on the mountain  
This year they burst near the inner courtyard's fountain.  
Other times, as flowered chairs passed our gates, I have spied  
Today when it comes, our own gates are opened wide. . . ."

Teacher and Big Aunt stopped and could sing no more, because of past memories so Ssu-mei stopped too. "Shu-chen has plenty of things, she will be a welcome bride in her new home," said Teacher. "But they borrowed so much money. How will they ever pay it back? Big Brother Ch'en is not old enough to earn much and the Old Father can't teach any more," worried Big Aunt. "It was all managed very badly, but it's done now," Teacher stated with finality. Then Ping-tzu saw the procession coming on the road below them. The musicians came first, walking slowly as they started up the hill road. Then the long line of carriers, two men for each load with the goods draped over the pole which rested on a shoulder of each man. Ping-tzu hadn't seen all those things when they went to Shu-chen's house. "Watch for the things the bridegroom sent," said Ssu-mei. First came the racks with the pillows. Those red satin ones Shu-chen had made were prettiest. Then the big satin comforts thrown over a pole, followed by another load of the everyday cotton comforts. The big black chests for clothing were followed by the bride's little chest tables. There were so many things, and each time the men got to the top of the hill near them, they walked fast down the other side so Ping-tzu could hardly see anything. He stood up on a big stone to see better just as the pair of big mirrors came past. Then the new shining brass wash basins, the tooth brush mugs, the combs, the pewter tea pot . . . he sighed. So

many things! All that men's clothing which Shu-chen had sewed for her new husband was followed by the poles of Shu-chen's own dresses. He recognized some she had worn to school and saw the bright splotches of color—red and green—of the new ones. As the white canopy over the *hua kan* was seen bobbing up the hill road, he looked to see Shu-chen. First came the *hua kan* with the man escort in it. Then came Shu-chen who was crying with her head down and didn't look at them. That was followed by the *hua kan* with Shu-chen's aunt in it. The music was still playing but Ping-tzu heard it faintly. They watched while the procession rounded that other little hill going toward town. They waited until they couldn't hear the music any more and then went back home.



## Chapter 4

## THE PARENTS LEARN TOO

## RICE PLANTING TIME

Ping-tzu was at his father's home. He had come with Grandmother and Big Aunt when Father came back from market yesterday. Hua-chung and all the workmen from their house were at Father's home to help with the rice planting. Already the men were out planting rice. Ping-tzu had aimed to go out to see the beginning of the rice planting, but he hadn't waked up. His eldest sister prepared a pan of water for him. "I'll wash your face, Ping-tzu," she said happily. "I'll wash the child, don't you touch him," Grandmother commended tartly. "With those great sore eyes of yours, you will make his eyes sore if you touch him, Mrs. Teng said so. I'll tend to him myself while he is here," she explained. Ping-tzu had never noticed before how red her eyes were. Grandmother washed him just as she did at home. But his mother put his breakfast on the table for him. She sat at the table while he ate and often took good bits from the bowl and put into his rice bowl. Big Aunt was paring vegetables. She brought her work over to the table and worked there while she talked with his mother. His mother didn't do any work; she just talked and cried. Grandmother grabbed the broom and began to sweep the courtyard vigorously. "It's so dirty here, I just can't stand it," she cried angrily. Second Sister who was feeding the pigs, put her bucket down, got another broom and began to help her.

"Ping-tzu is my only baby left now since his little brother died," his mother said and cried. "Never mind, you will have some more babies. Your husband is still here," said Big Aunt wistfully. "He might as well be gone," said Ping-tzu's mother. "He hasn't been

to my room for eight months." "The rice planting will soon be over and he won't be so busy. Everyone is busy now and Second Brother does have heavy responsibilities for all our big family," said Big Aunt. "There was the long time you were nursing the baby when he couldn't come to you," Big Aunt continued. Ping-tzu's mother's face got red. "Yes, it is partly my fault," she admitted. "I was so mad when he wouldn't let me keep my girl baby that I *ou ch'i* and wouldn't speak to him for two or three months." "How did Ping-tzu's brother die?" Big Aunt asked. "He just died," his mother replied. "I've borne eight and only four are alive now. Every time I fed Ping-tzu's brother at my breast I remembered my baby girl and was more sad than ever. I couldn't pay any attention to him even if he were my son." His mother talked so fast that Ping-tzu could hardly understand what she said. Big Aunt looked down for a while. Then she said, "Your son ate your sorrow with his milk and died." Ping-tzu ate his food. His mother put some more vegetable into his bowl. It was nice not to have any little brother. Mother did things for him. His mother talked some more; "I paid dearly for it. He punished me severely. I'll not soon forget it! Anyhow he did notice me," she said. Ping-tzu was full. He slipped down from the bench and leaned against his mother's knee. "Now he wants to send the girls to school," said his mother. "Let the eldest one come for next term and get her eyes doctored before she gets married," Big Aunt suggested in a gentle voice.

Grandmother had finished sweeping and came up onto the porch to rest. "How will the work ever get done here if these big girls don't help?" she asked. Grandmother's voice didn't sound as nice as it did when they were at home so Ping-tzu pressed a little closer to his mother. When Third Aunt came into the yard with the green vegetables, An-tzu was with her. "An-tzu can go to the nursery school next term," Grandmother announced. Ping-tzu left his mother and went to play with An-tzu. They went to see the goats staked outside. Ping-tzu looked at Hua-hui's goat which he kept at this home. There were some baby goats which he liked: "Where is your baby, An-tzu?" Ping-tzu asked. "Our baby died, I am the baby now," An-tzu replied. He and An-tzu walked on.

From where they played they could see the men planting rice in the fields below. They walked down the winding path and stopped on the little path between the two rice fields. Ping-tzu

squatted down to watch the men work. There were Hua-chung and Fourth Uncle and Hua-hui and all the workmen from home. The fresh green rice plants were in the big flat-bottomed wooden wash tub which floated on the water. The men worked in teams. Hua-hui took the bundles of rice plants from the tub and threw them to Lao-san who caught them. He stood with legs far apart, and planted three rows at a time, the one on his left hand, the one between his legs and the one on his right hand. Opposite Lao-san was Hua-chung wearing his big hat, and without his blouse and with his trousers legs rolled up high. He worked with Lao-er, who threw him the bundles of rice plants. Lao-t'ou threw the bundles of rice plants to Fourth Uncle. Fourth Uncle was the quickest of all. Ping-tzu could hardly tell how he planted the rows so straight and yet so quickly. It looked as if he were always catching a bundle of rice plants. When Lao-t'ou took out a bundle of plants to throw to Fourth Uncle, he gave the tub a little shove, and Hua-hui reached out and pulled it toward him before he took another bundle for Lao-san. All together they moved forward, leaving the part behind all green with little rice clusters. An-tzu pulled at Ping-tzu. "See, my father is in this field behind you." Ping-tzu turned around. Sure enough, there was An-tzu's father. Everyone called him Queer-face because his face was ugly. And there was Fifth Uncle too and more workmen. Ping-tzu watched them a while. They didn't work so fast as Fourth Uncle did. Pretty soon, Fourth Uncle exchanged places with Fifth Uncle. Lao-t'ou came too. "Let's try to finish these two fields before dinner," Fourth Uncle called out in a happy voice. "Second Brother is bringing the wine for dinner. Whoever sweats the most gets the most wine," he promised them. Everybody worked fast now.

When Ping-tzu saw his father coming, he and An-tzu went to meet him. Father had a big piece of meat which he could hardly carry. Ping-tzu thought they could never eat all that meat. The wine was in the jugs in the basket on his back.

#### THE BIG DINNER

There was always a big dinner at rice planting time. When they returned to the house, the tables were all set. Ping-tzu wondered where the neighbor women were, like Wang Ta-niang and Yeh Ta-sao who always came to help at their house, so he asked Big

Aunt about them. His mother answered, "If you don't have neighbors to help, you have fewer mouths to feed." Fourth Aunt further explained, "Our neighbors here are not so cordial as those around the other house." Ping-tzu liked Fourth Aunt. She often came and stayed a few days at their house. When the new baby came, she had stayed a long time. "Let me see the baby," he said. Fourth Aunt had been jiggling the baby who was tied on her back, and she had continued to set the tables even though the baby cried. When Ping-tzu spoke, she sat down on one of the benches, untied the cord which bound the baby to her back, and slipped the child around into her lap and started to feed her. "She's hungry, Ping-tzu, and I haven't enough milk for her," Fourth Aunt said. He looked at the baby. She was just as tiny as she had been when Fourth Aunt was over at their house. "You can give her some meat today and she won't be hungry," said Ping-tzu. Fourth Aunt smiled, "She is too little to eat meat. I chew the rice and vegetables to give her but she cries more and more each day," Fourth Aunt sighed.

The men began to pour into the courtyard. Each one threw down his hat into the beds of the workmen on the porch, then sat down and wiped the sweat from his face and upper body. "We caught up with you that last round," one of the workmen boasted to Fourth Uncle. "Lung-tzu will be as good a rice planter as you are soon," shouted one of the men loudly so that Fifth Uncle could hear. The men all laughed and Ping-tzu and An-tzu laughed too. Ping-tzu stood about hopefully while the men got washed and ready to eat, but all the tables were full of men and there was no place for him. Hua-hui helped to plant rice and could eat with the men. Ping-tzu's mother called to him to come away from the tables and wait till the women and children ate. Ping-tzu sniffed. The meat smelled good! Ping-tzu's father didn't sit down but went from table to table pouring the little cups of wine. "Didn't I promise you wine?" shouted Fourth Uncle after he had drunk several cups. Fourth Uncle's face was red, but Hua-chung and Hua-hui weren't red in the face, because they didn't drink any wine. Finally the men were finished and went to stretch out on the mats under the bamboo for their noon-time rest.

Ping-tzu climbed up to a table. He knelt on the bench and looked. There wasn't a thing left in the vegetable bowls. "Wait till we wash the dishes, Ping-tzu, then you can have your dinner," Grandmother



said, laughing. When all of the tables were set, and the vegetables dished up, Fifth Aunt with Fu-tzu tied on her back came in at the gate. Grandmother hurried to meet her and helped her to untie the straps and put Fu-tzu on the ground. Fu-tzu was almost as big as Ping-tzu but Fifth Aunt always carried him on her back as if he were a little baby. "I'll wash Fu-tzu, you sit down at the table, everything is ready to eat," Grandmother said to Fifth Aunt solicitously. Ping-tzu's father had been busy serving the wine to the men, so he ate with the women and children. Fifth Aunt said she would have a little wine but no one else had any wine at their tables. "Ping-tzu and An-tzu helped to plant the rice," said his father teasingly. Ping-tzu dimpled and smiled at his father. He ate till he couldn't hold any more and his stomach felt hard and full.

#### VISITING HOMES WITH TEACHER

It was fun to visit the homes of the other nursery children when you went with Teacher. Rice planting was over long, long ago. Ping-tzu hardly thought about it any more. An-tzu had come to stay at Grandmother's and attend the nursery school after the rice planting. An-tzu was older than Ping-tzu and would attend the school next fall with the big boys and girls. Yesterday, after nursery school, Ping-tzu had gone with Teacher to visit most of the homes in Hsiao Kang Tzu. Kwei-ying's father was at home. Ping-tzu knew him, for he was the carpenter who had built the new room onto their house. Since he was a carpenter, he was rarely at home.

Kwei-ying's father and mother were quarreling when they arrived. Her father stopped when he saw Teacher, and came to the door, but her mother did not stop. Ping-tzu and the teacher did not go in. "We appreciate the help you give the nursery school by providing water daily for the children to wash their hands," she said politely. "It is nothing, it is nothing!" said Kwei-ying's father. Her mother came to the door, "It is not any of his work," she said angrily. "Kwei-ying and I carry all the water in this house!" She talked just like Kwei-ying did at the nursery school, when she was pushing and punching Ping-tzu.

When they came to Chung-tzu's house, her mother urged them to come in. Her house was so pretty and clean. Teacher looked at everything, even the kitchen stove and water jar; in the bedroom the lamp was lighted even though it was daytime. They could see

everything quite clearly; the pretty pictures on the wall, and the bed neatly made. "Since you came, Teacher, I can't get her out to the field till she makes the bed and combs her head," Chung-tzu's father said. Chung-tzu's mother did look pretty!

"Now we will go to see Wen Te-sun's house," Teacher said. They had to go in one by one through the kitchen. Teacher couldn't walk beside Ping-tzu, it was so narrow. "Oh, how clean your kitchen is," said Teacher. Wen Te-sun's father made a sort of bow. "Thank you, Teacher. Second Son, Wen Te-chiang, does all the cooking. He is a neat boy and profits by your teaching." "Who makes the beds?" asked Teacher. "Third Son, Wen Te-sun, makes beds, but he must be reminded. He often forgets and goes to play," said his father. "Their mother died last year and I was helpless. It takes all my time to work the farm. Then I have the bamboo weaving for ready cash. The boys must do the housework." He told the things which they knew already, so Ping-tzu didn't listen much. He liked Wen Te-sun, they always had fun playing together. Just then Wen Te-sun rushed in and made a low bow, bumping into the teacher with his head and bumping Ping-tzu with his back side. Teacher began to leave. "How is your daughter getting along?" she asked politely. "She is not worthy of your interest, Teacher, my sons are well taught by you!" Wen Te-sun's father said following them outside. "When I took her to the War Orphanage (her brother is a soldier as you know, and her mother dead) the principal wanted Second Son, Wen Te-chiang, to come to school. 'No,' I said. 'Second Son is my only hope for the family line. Take my daughter,' I said. If anything happens to her, it doesn't matter, she will marry outside anyhow. How shall I risk my family line?" He continued to follow them and talk as they went to Pao-chen's home.

Ping-tzu liked Pao-chen's house the best of all. It was pretty. There were pictures on the outside of the door. The new window which Pao-chen's father had cut beside the kitchen stove made it light so you could see everything in the kitchen clearly, not dark like Big Aunt's kitchen. "Wang Er-sao," said Teacher, speaking to Pao-chen's mother, "you are a good teacher. You not only help me to teach reading and writing to the literacy class but you demonstrate good living in your home." Pao-chen's mother smiled and replied, "It is Pao-chen's father who does it. He wants to improve our

home. He is even willing for me to become a Christian," she said happily. Hung-ying who had been playing with Chung-tzu came up. "You go on home, Hung-ying, I will visit you and Wen An-pao another day," said Teacher.

#### APPEALING THE LAWSUIT

The lawsuit occupied much of the conversation of the family and neighborhood. The lawsuit! The lawsuit! The lawsuit!! The lawsuit!!! Ping-tzu heard Grandfather talking to Big Aunt all the time about the lawsuit. One day his father had come especially to talk about the lawsuit. Liang *Pao Chang* came over and they talked and talked and talked! "Lawsuit, lawsuit, lawsuit," Ping-tzu chanted in a little low tone. Eldest Brother came home and talked with Father and Liang *Pao Chang*. He looked excited as he did when he wanted to go somewhere. Grandfather had called out loudly to tell them what he thought about it. "They shall not take our house," he shouted. "We will fight them if it takes all our land to do it," Hua-chung stood up and danced about as he talked. Father always spoke quietly. "We will take it up with the Provincial Government," he said. Liang *Pao Chang* nodded his head. "It will be very expensive for lawyers' fees and living in Chengtu," he said thoughtfully. Ping-tzu didn't understand it all but he didn't want anybody to take their house. "You will go with me to Chengtu, Liang *Pao Chang*. I am only an ignorant farmer," Father said. "We can stay at Born-Outside Nephew's house. He and my sister will welcome us," said Father. "We had better take Hua-chung because he has been to school and knows what to do," he added. Liang *Pao Chang* thought for a while. "We will look for Hai Hsien-sheng, she has gone to Chengtu, I hear. She can introduce us to the church folk there. The pastor will know how to help us find a good lawyer," he finally concluded. Ping-tzu chanted over and over again, "Lawsuit, lawsuit, lawsuit." Hua-chung had worn his long gown and black satin cap and cloth shoes. Father looked strange in a long gown. Even when he went to weddings, he didn't wear a long gown. Hua-chung had argued with him about his shoes, but father had worn his straw sandals. Liang *Pao Chang* wore his long garment and satin cap, as he did when he went to see the County Official, but he had worn his straw sandals too. "It is more comfortable this hot weather," he said. After they



had all gone, Ping-tzu chanted, "Lawsuit, lawsuit, lawsuit," as he went to see whether or not the sun was shining on the goats. He hoped nobody would take their house.

#### CELEBRATING CHINA NEW YEAR

Everyone in every home was celebrating China New Year. Ping-tzu had gone to Hu-tzu's house with Ssu-mei, Hua-en and Hua-chung for the China New Year Eve supper and celebration. Teacher and the college students were already there. Hu-tzu took Ping-tzu into the house and showed him the new picture on the wall and the two scrolls with the writing on them which were hung on either side of the picture. How pretty they looked! The whole room looked different from other days, all fixed up this way for China New Year. The tall fat red candles in freshly shined pewter candlesticks on the table were already lighted when Ping-tzu came in. Hu-tzu then showed him a big pile of little red candles in the corner on the chest. "They are for the Candle Lighting Service. My father brought them from town last market day," he said. Ping-tzu and Hu-tzu climbed up on the bench so they could see the candles better. There were the song books from school and a Bible. "There is Teacher's Bible," Ping-tzu said. "No, that's my father's Bible," Hu-tzu declared and he opened it to show the name written in it. Ping-tzu didn't know those characters but they didn't look like Teacher's name which he did know. They slid down from the bench. Hu-tzu's father gave them each a tangerine from the basket on the floor beside the table. "I got these from the Ch'ens' orchard. They have just picked the last of them," he said, handing a tangerine to one of the college students standing beside him, and peeling one himself.

More folk were coming now. Hung-ying came with her father and mother. Wang Ta-niang and her husband and son and daughter came with them. Hua-chung introduced them to the college students. "This is our most public-spirited man," he said as he introduced Hung-ying's father. "If you want anything done, just call on Wen Hung-en." Hung-ying came over to play with Ping-tzu and Hu-tzu gave her a tangerine. "This is Wang Ta-niang who helps to teach the literacy class in Sha Ho Pa," Hua-chung introduced Wang Ta-niang. "She uses her oil-jug to help people," said Liang Pao Chang. Everybody laughed except the college students.



Hua-chung explained the joke to them, slapping his knees with both hands and doubling up as he laughed. He told how someone had put their oil-jug in Hai Hsien-sheng's room. Ping-tzu and Hung-ying laughed and laughed. Still the college students didn't understand the funny part. Wang Ta-niang explained to them how the people thought that by leaving their oil-jug in a room, they could leave the disease of the family for the person in whose room the oil-jug was placed. Teacher had said in meeting that Christians were not afraid of this superstition, and they could remove the oil-jug from Hai Hsien-sheng's room. When the college students understood the joke they laughed till the tears ran down their faces.

Hu-tzu's mother came in and said something to his father. Then he announced that supper was ready. "It is only sweet potatoes," he laughed apologetically. Ping-tzu looked and sniffed. Sure enough it was sweet potatoes and vegetables just like any day at home. When they were all seated, everybody sang the blessing song which Teacher had taught them. "Oh, I like sweet potatoes," said one of the college students. "So do I," said another.

After supper they sang songs. Hung-ying could sing all of them, even the school and church songs. She knew all the words. Hu-tzu sang better than Ping-tzu. When they sang the nursery school songs, Ping-tzu could sing them. After they had sung all the songs, one of the college students taught them some games. "Follow the Leader" was easy and fun. Ping-tzu could do all the things the college student did. When they played "Transportation," the college student gave each of them a number and told them to change places when he called their numbers. Sometimes Ping-tzu forgot what his number was. Sometimes the numbers were called so fast he couldn't hear. "Never mind, Ping-tzu, you and Hung-ying can watch or go outside to play," Teacher said. So he and Hung-ying went out to the kitchen.

When all the people came into the courtyard following the games, Eldest Brother called Ping-tzu to go home with Hua-en. "Aren't you going home for the Ancestral Ceremony, Hua-chung?" asked Teacher. "No, I am going to stay here for the Candle Lighting Service," he replied, "but Hua-en dare not disobey Grandfather. He must go home and Ping-tzu is already sleepy. Ssu-mei doesn't matter, she is only a girl and can't worship the ancestors anyhow." But Ssu-mei went home with Hua-en and Ping-tzu.

## Chapter 5

## NEW INTERESTS GRANDPARENTS

## GRANDFATHER TAKES RESPONSIBILITY

Grandfather always took responsibility for other people. "Ta-sao, Ta-sao!" Grandfather called Big Aunt, and Ping-tzu awakened. He opened his eyes but it was quite dark yet so he didn't have to get up. "Ta-sao, Ta-sao, it's time to get up," Grandfather called again. "Ai," answered Big Aunt. Ping-tzu wriggled down into the bedding a little, ready to sleep some more. "Hua-en, Hua-hui. It's time for you boys to get up," Grandfather called. "Ai," answered Hua-en, and Hua-hui, almost together. "Lazy-bones," grumbled Grandfather, "this is the second time I have called Ta-sao to get up and build the fire! How will we ever make a living with everyone too lazy to get up in the morning," he grumbled. Ping-tzu snuggled down a little more . . . when he opened his eyes the next time it was quite light. He got up and went to the kitchen. As he entered, Big Aunt said, "Ssu-mei, you take the pan of hot water to your grandfather for me. He is very angry this morning. I will hurry to boil the water for him to drink and prepare his firebasket. That's a good girl," she said putting the big brass basin of steaming water into Ssu-mei's hands. Ping-tzu sat down on Ssu-mei's little stool while he warmed himself beside the open fire-box at the stove. Hua-en came in with a bucket of water and poured it into the big water jar beside the stove. "The pig feed is cooked when you are ready," Big Aunt told Hua-en. "I've already chopped the carrots and fed them," he replied, "and I will take the hot food after I have finished filling the water jars." "Hua-en, you are a good boy,"

she said placing her hand on his shoulder. "When you are a little older, you must go to find your father and bring him back home." Hua-en didn't answer but stood quietly. He had heard this many times and didn't know what to say. Big Aunt brushed away some tears with the back of her hand. Suddenly Hua-en spoke, "I know what to do. Let's ask Hai Hsien-sheng to find father. She is going to Chungking next month. Surely she could find him." Big Aunt looked happy. "Hua-en, you are a smart boy. Your father was in Chungking two years ago. When Wen Fu-chen was there he saw him. Surely Hai Hsien-sheng can find him there." Hua-en took up the bucket and went out. Ssu-mei had come back and wanted to feed the fire. Ping-tzu let her have the stool and he stood beside her. "Grandfather is very angry," said Ssu-mei. "I didn't get near him. I was afraid he could not restrain himself. The water is boiled, take him a drink." "Ping-tzu, you take his firebasket to him. He won't beat you for you are little but I dare not go near him this morning," said Big Aunt as she reached the firebasket from the top of the cupboard and filled it with glowing coals. Ping-tzu wasn't afraid, for Grandfather never struck him, so he took the firebasket to Grandfather.

#### GRANDPARENTS SHARE DELICACIES WITH PING-TZU

Ping-tzu always got some of the "goodies" which his grandparents had, but this was a very special day for they were going to have chicken. Ping-tzu had helped Ssu-mei to feed that chicken for the last two days. When they had bought it, it was not very fat, so they fed it a few days. It was a pretty flowered chicken, mostly red with beautiful big tail feathers and nobody wanted to kill it. Of course, Big Aunt wouldn't kill a chicken. Eldest Brother wasn't willing to kill it. Big Aunt had asked Hua-hui and Hui-en, and neither of them would kill it. Finally Grandfather had issued the command for one of the workmen to kill the chicken. Immediately Lao-t'ou and Lao-er had grabbed their hoes and hurried off to the fields, so Lao-san had to kill it. Ping-tzu stood beside Big Aunt while she scalded and picked it. All the pretty feathers stuck together and were ugly now. They were thrown away. After she had picked it and cut it up, Big Aunt took two pieces and gave them to Teacher and Hai Hsien-sheng. They liked chicken too! "I haven't tasted chicken for a year since the prices went so high," Hai Hsien-sheng

exclaimed. "I've not tasted chicken for two years," Big Aunt had replied. "At that wedding of the Wens' two years ago we had chicken. Once or twice a month we prepare a chicken for the old ones but my children and I never taste it," she added. "I always get some, though!" said Ping-tzu. Big Aunt smiled. "Yes, chicken and eggs, sugar and cakes, are to nourish the old ones and for the smallest children," she said. "Big Aunt has great reverence for the grandparents," Teacher explained to Hai Hsien-sheng. "Many daughters-in-law would slyly eat some of the chicken, but she never tastes it."

"Are two pieces enough?" Big Aunt inquired anxiously. "Grandmother wanted you to have some, but," she added in a low tone of voice, "Grandfather is another matter." "Oh, two pieces are a great plenty," Teacher reassured her. "We will chop it up and fry it with lettuce marrow and pepper sauce," she added. "Ping-tzu, ask your grandmother to pull a few stalks of lettuce marrow for me from her garden," Teacher said, speaking directly to him. He got the lettuce marrow from the garden. Grandmother picked off the big coarse outer leaves from the lower stem. "We will eat these, they are too coarse for the teacher," she said. He took the stalks with only the tiny tender leaves at the top to the teacher. She would put those into her soup and chop the marrow with the chicken. After he had given them to the teacher he went to their own kitchen to sniff the boiling chicken. He was glad he was small enough to get some of it. Ssu-mei was too big to get any. Only he and Grandmother and Grandfather would eat the chicken.

#### GRANDMOTHER TELLS HER TROUBLES

Grandmother was talking to Hai Hsien-sheng in a low tone of voice and Ping-tzu couldn't hear very well. It was late afternoon of the day they had the chicken. Grandmother was sitting on one of the middle-sized bamboo stools in the yard facing Hai Hsien-sheng who sat in one of Teacher's low comfortable wooden chairs. Grandmother had her back toward Grandfather who sat in his big chair on the porch smoking his pipe. Now and then as she talked she brushed her eyes with the back of her hand, as if she were crying. Ping-tzu went over and crowded in between her black cloth knees and leaned against her where he could hear. She put one arm about him and went on talking.



"After he had drowned three of my baby girls, I couldn't stand it any more," Grandmother wiped away some more tears. "When I had four sons, I fooled him. I hid the fourth baby girl and pretended it had died," she added with a dry little laugh. "After she was a few weeks old, of course he couldn't drown her then," she continued. "Is she still living?" asked Hai Hsien-sheng, as she wiped her eyes with a pretty pink and green handkerchief and blew her nose. "No, she died of some swelling disease when she was forty-three years old, but I have some born-outside grandchildren," she added proudly. "When the last baby girl was born, we were in better circumstances. He pretended he didn't know when she was born, so she lived. I still have five sons and one daughter, but even so, I grieve for those baby girls he drowned," she sighed.<sup>1</sup> "Well, it's against the law now," said Hai Hsien-sheng. Grandmother moved her hands and feet a little and did not reply.

"You look so young with your coal black hair and never a wrinkle, you must have been very young when you married," Hai Hsien-sheng said. "Oh, I am sixty-eight, and Grandfather is seventy, but I am still as strong, maybe stronger than a few years ago," Grandmother replied. "I came to his home when I was seven years old. We weren't married until I was seventeen. I ate bitterness all those years when our family was very poor. I never had enough clothing and no bedding at all until I was married. In the warm weather, I slept on a table, and in winter I snuggled down in a basket of straw to keep warm. You see, I was to be the bride of the youngest son and it didn't matter how I was treated. My own family had sold me to them cheaply." Grandmother sounded unhappy so Ping-tzu leaned more closely against her. "That was hard, but you are wealthy now, and have sons and land," said Hai Hsien-sheng. "Here is Ping-tzu going to be a great scholar and Ssu-mei with opportunities for a good marriage." Grandmother laughed a low laugh. "Yes, we have land and my sons are good to me. Grandfather acts differently since he is interested in the school." Lowering her voice still more she added, "Since you and Teacher came he never treats me and Eldest Daughter-in-law harshly. Tell me about your old folk and how they live in America," she added suddenly changing the subject.

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<sup>1</sup> This old Cantonese custom had not yet been eliminated in her own family.

## GRANDMOTHER PLANS FOR HER DAUGHTER-IN-LAW

Grandmother went over to where Teacher was feeding her fire. She carried a bundle of fuel from their supply and laid it down beside Teacher's stove. Seating herself on the little stool, she pushed the teacher aside. "I'll feed the fire, you cook your vegetables," she said. Ping-tzu went over and sat on the doorsill near Grandmother. "My fourth daughter-in-law will bear a child soon," she informed Teacher, in a confidential tone. "You know how it is, a woman never has a cent to use herself." Teacher nodded her head. "She needs some money to buy clothing to prepare for the child when it is born. She can embroider nicely. Do you think that Miss Lo in town who came here once would want some embroidery work done?" she asked hopefully. Teacher shook her head. "Miss Lo can do finer work than Fourth Aunt can," she said. "We must think who would like to have some work done. But how will Fourth Aunt ever find time to do any embroidery!" Teacher asked. "Oh, she is coming here to stay for a month. She is so thin that we fear for the life of the child. It might be a son, who knows!" Grandmother said. "She is certainly thin," Teacher said. Ping-tzu was about to ask when supper would be ready, when Teacher suddenly exclaimed, "I know! Can she do cross-stitch?" "Do you mean the old-fashioned blue thread kind which she has on her sleeve bands?" Grandmother asked. "Of course she can do that kind. She doesn't do it as finely as my eldest grandson's wife." Teacher went on, "If Fourth Aunt can do the cross-stitch, she can make the tablecloth which Hai Hsien-sheng wants to send to her mother. In that way she could earn enough for the baby's clothes." Grandmother's eyes got bright. "That old-fashioned kind. Who wants that?" Teacher laughed. "The old-fashioned kind is what Hai Hsien-sheng likes." Grandmother stood up. "You speak to Hai Hsien-sheng when she comes tomorrow and ask if she wants Fourth Daughter-in-law to embroider for her," she requested as she started home. Ping-tzu went with her.

## GRANDMOTHER GETS HER GARDEN PLOUGHED

Grandmother had had a hard job getting her garden ploughed. "It's time to dig up the garden," said Grandmother. Every day Grandmother said that. "It's time to dig up the garden." Today when Fourth Uncle had come, Ping-tzu heard her say it to him.

Fourth Uncle hadn't paid any attention to her. He went right on talking to Grandfather about which field should be planted to wheat. "The government requires us to plant more wheat," he said. "We must increase wheat twenty-five per cent and cut down on cotton and tobacco, Liang Pao Chang and the Agriculture Bureau man said so," Fourth Uncle declared emphatically. "Won't we have any cotton to pick up here on our hill?" Ping-tzu had asked. "That hill won't grow wheat, Ping-tzu," Grandfather answered him. "Better drain some of the rice fields and rest them a year by planting wheat," Grandfather advised. "It won't make any real difference to us," Fourth Uncle said. "Tobacco was a cash crop and we can sell the wheat just as well." "Sell the wheat. It's not so good to eat as sweet potatoes, and brings more money!" Grandfather declared. Fourth Uncle got up and started to go home. All the time he and Grandfather had talked, Grandmother sat on a bench just inside the big gate. As Fourth Uncle came to the gate, she stopped him.

"Fourth Son," she addressed him directly, in very polite tones, "the lower garden must be spaded. We are only women here. Will you kindly allocate Hua-hui's time to spade the garden?" Fourth Uncle looked out of the big gate at the garden. "I will send one of the workmen to spade it. That is too heavy work for Hua-hui, he is only a child yet," he answered. He stood thinking for a moment. "Lao-er will come this afternoon to spade. Hua-hui can smooth it for you tomorrow. Tell Second Brother to get the seeds you want when he goes to market tomorrow," he finished. "Thank you," said Grandmother with a partial bow, as Fourth Uncle started off briskly toward his home.

#### GRANDFATHER CHANGES HIS WAY OF LIFE

Grandfather was telling Miss Feng about changes in his life. Miss Feng sat on the low wooden chair and talked to grandfather who sat in his own big chair on the porch. Ping-tzu was playing in the yard and could hear every word Grandfather said, for Grandfather always shouted when he talked. "I went stone blind when I was fifty years old," he said cheerfully. "I haven't done any hard work since. I turned over everything to Wang-fu, my second son, to manage. I don't worry a minute. That's why a man has sons, to do

everything for him when he is old: Fourth Son manages the work. I tell them what to do of course," he concluded.

"Your happiness is very great with such filial sons to carry responsibility," shouted Miss Feng to make Grandfather hear. Grandfather liked to talk to Miss Feng, he could always hear her. "I can't see but I know my way around here and even all the way to town. I always go with Wang-fu to meetings. I never miss a meeting of the Credit Cooperative. When they get to arguing, I set 'em straight," he boasted. "Your wisdom is a great asset to the community," replied Miss Feng. "Just look how you have provided space for the Rural Center. The whole community is talking about how you have made possible the school," she finished.

"They haven't always blessed me. Used to curse me!" he interposed. "Those Lius used to be rich and I was poor. Now it's the other way round. Wang-fu has managed well. Every year at China New Year, they have to sell land to pay their debts. Wang-fu buys some for us. Liang *Pao Chang* buys some. The Wangs buy some. The Ch'en won't have a *mou* of land left in a few years," he laughed as he told Miss Feng this.

It was one day the following week and Grandfather was talking to Ping-tzu's father. "Take those dogs over to your house and keep them there," Grandfather commanded Father. Ping-tzu's father always spoke softly like Grandmother. "Shall I leave one here to watch the house?" he asked. "Take them all, take them all! I can hear a thief if he comes. The school children are afraid of the dogs. Keep them over at your house. I won't have the children frightened!" shouted Grandfather getting louder all the time. "Do as I say!" he shouted again. Hua-en went home with Father and took the dogs to the other house.

One day after the dogs were gone when two *hua kan* were passing by, they came right down the hill on Grandfather's own private road. When Big Aunt looked out of the back door and saw them start down the hill, she was frightened. "Run quickly, Hua-en, and tell the men to turn back," she urged. Hua-en looked frightened and started. "The dogs are gone, so no harm can be done this time," Grandmother said quietly. It was too late for the two *hua kan* had already stopped in front of their gate. Grandfather had heard them and went straight to the gate. "Sit down and rest a bit," Ping-tzu heard him say. "Hua-en, bring the men a drink," he commanded.



"We are sorry to trouble you," said one of the *hua kan* men. "We are looking for Sha Ho Pa and don't know the way," he said. They set down their *hua kan* to rest and dropped down on the bench which Hua-en had placed for them. "You're there! You're there! It's right over there," he said pointing. "But there is no hurry, rest a while!" Grandfather urged them, as Hua-en brought out a gourd of water for them to drink. "They told us in town that it was near the school," the man continued conversationally. Grandfather slapped his knee delightedly. "This is the school right here in my house," he explained, and went on to tell them all about it. "When you are rested we will go on to Sha Ho Pa," suggested one of the *hua kan* travelers to the carrier. "Go right down that path to the stream, cross over and you will see the houses of Sha Ho Pa," directed Grandfather. "Stop and rest any time you pass," he called after them as they trotted off.

## Chapter 6

### MEI-YU ENJOYS LIFE

#### MEI-YU

Wu Mei-yu was two and a half years old. She and her five sisters lived with her father and mother and her father's mother. Mei-fu was thirteen years old, Mei-lu was eight, Mei-shou was six and the baby was six months old. The baby hadn't been named yet, so they just called her baby or Last Little-One. Their house was one of the many, many houses inside the wall which inclosed the forty-two families living in Wu Chia Hua Yuan in this branch of the clan to which Mei-yu belonged. Her house had tiled roofs, front courtyards with flowers blooming in them and a big courtyard with roses, flowering plum trees, and many other pretty flowers. Her back yard reached up against the wall on one side of the settlement. Her house, like all other houses of the community, was built against another house with no space between. She and her sisters walked through the courtyards of other families when they went to school.

Mei-yu wasn't the baby any more since the new baby had come. She was a big girl and slept with Grandmother. She liked to sit by Grandmother when she read or embroidered or made baby shoes. When Grandmother went to tend the flowers Mei-yu went too. Grandmother always snipped off a flower for Mei-yu to put behind her ear and sometimes Grandmother tucked the flower into her hair before she turned again to direct the gardener how to tie a flower up on a trellis. Father taught a private school and was away except for holidays. Now, he was coming home to stay. Mother was "just too busy," Grandmother said so. She had to teach the *Pao Chia* school and nurse the baby and care for the farm. She was too busy! Father must stay at home.

## LING CHIA HUA YUAN ANCESTRAL HALL

Chi-kwang's house

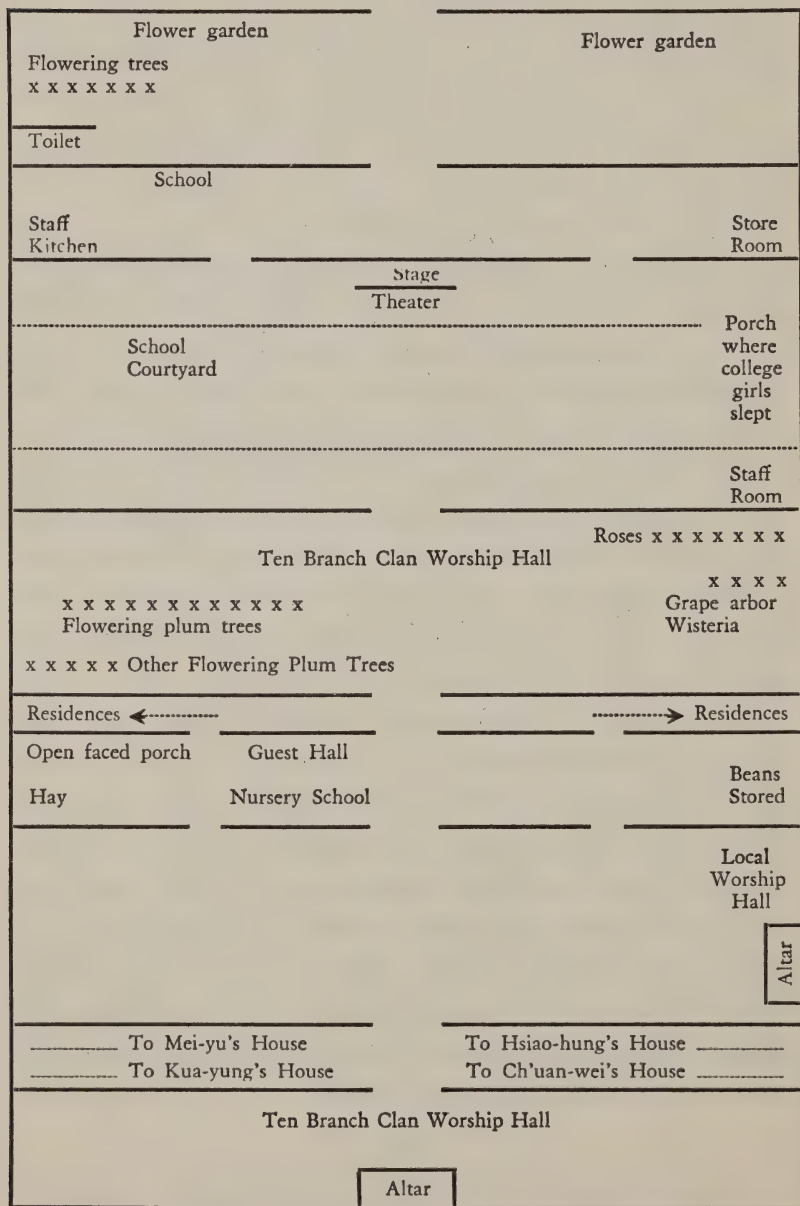
Ling Chia-wen's House

Ling Feng-wen's House

Soap-berry Trees

x x x x x x x x x x

Outer Gate



The *Pao Chia* school was held in the theater place of the ancestral hall and was quite nearby, and, of course, Mother was the principal. The second teacher who taught the little ones—Mei-shou's teacher, lived at their house, Liu-ma, the serving woman, cooked for them all but Mother had to tell her what to cook and sometimes Liu-ma "aggravated" Mother. Mei-yu loved to sing. Mei-fu and Mei-lu taught her all the songs they learned at school and she could do the motions, too. When there was a program in which Mei-fu, Mei-lu and Mei-shou were going to sing, Mei-yu went too and sang all the words she could remember and did all the motions. They would soon start a nursery school and she could really and truly go to school like her big sisters did for she was a big girl now.

#### WATCHING THE BABY TO HELP MOTHER

Mei-yu was sitting beside her mother on the ridge which edged their sugar cane field. She had come to the field with Eldest Sister, Mei-fu, when she had brought the baby out to Mother to nurse. Mei-yu had taken her afternoon nap in Grandmother's big bed. When she got up, she had talked to Grandmother, who was making cute little green frog shoes with red linings for the baby. When Mei-fu came for the baby Mei-yu had asked Grandmother for permission to go with her to the sugar cane field. At any time she could play about within the high stone walls of the courtyards or go into the ancestral hall courtyards to play, but she always asked permission to go outside the walls. "You may go; Mei-fu is a big girl and will take you directly to your mother," said Grandmother. Mei-fu wrapped the baby in her long knitted cape and put on her knitted cap. Then Grandmother helped to wrap the big square of cloth about her and tie the baby onto Mei-fu's back so she wouldn't slide about while she rode out to Mother to nurse, and they started off. It was a long distance. They walked and walked and walked. They would surely come to the river soon. It looked so close to them from the big gate. Now you couldn't see a thing. There was a long green tunnel made by the sugar cane. The pretty fence on either side of the path was made by tying the outer row of sugar cane together. She had seen the men do it one time in the summer when she walked with Mother to oversee the workmen. You couldn't get lost on those paths, but when you came to the intersection where there were so many paths going in all directions you were glad that



Mei-fu knew the way. They passed their own sweet potato patch where peas were now growing little and green and sat down to rest a bit. Then they walked and walked and walked some more. "Have we walked a mile?" Mei-yu asked. "No, it's only a mile to the river," her sister replied. The long blades of the sugar cane reached over and scratched her. Once when they cut and made blood come, Mei-fu said, "Never mind," so Mei-yu hadn't cried. They came to their field where the turnips looked so pretty with the red sticking up above the ground, and sat down to rest again. Finally they came to Mother and Mei-yu told her all about the long, long walk. Mother took the baby, sat down and unbuttoned her blouse and the baby snuggled down in her arms and began to eat her milk from Mother's breast. Mei-yu moved over a little nearer to her mother. Mother looked down at her, smiled and said, "My big girl walked all the long distance to the field." Turning to Mei-fu she said, "Mei-yu is a big girl now and can help me watch the baby even as you help me teach the little ones at school." Mei-yu was happy. She felt the edge of the baby's cape. Mother had knitted this nice cape for baby and was going to knit a cap for Mei-yu too. "Will it be red, Mother?" she asked. Mother understood that she meant the cap. "No, I couldn't buy any red wool, so I got pink. You will like a pink cap for you are a big girl now and pink is the color for big girls. It will be ready to wear at China New Year."

When the baby had almost finished nursing, Mei-fu spread the quilt on the matting which the workmen had left there. Mother placed the baby on the quilt and rolled her tightly into it, so she couldn't kick out and get cold. "Mei-yu, you stay here and watch the baby; Mei-fu and I must supervise the workmen," she said. Mei-yu sat down on the matting beside the baby. She watched while Mother and Mei-fu went over to where the workmen had the bundles of sugar cane all ready to carry away. There was a big smooth place in the field where the sugar cane had been cut. From where Mei-yu sat, she could see the big, swiftly flowing river. It looked so close that she stretched out her hand to touch it but she couldn't reach it. Then she looked at the workmen again. They were gathering up the bundles and placing them on the racks, ready to carry to the sugar house. She stood up so she could see better. Two men lifted the loaded rack onto the shoulders of a third man. The rack of sugar cane tied together looked like the

boat out under the soap-berry trees. The pointed front was just like a boat but when the man turned around she saw that the sugar cane didn't come together in the back like a boat. One after another the racks of sugar cane were placed onto the shoulders of men. When each of the men had a load, they started off together. The leader sang out, "Now we are ready," and the carriers chanted a reply, "Carry it steady."

She tried to count the men. "One, two, three," there were so many she couldn't count them all. Mei-fu walked at the end of the line of carriers to accompany them to the sugar house. Mother started back toward Mei-yu, bringing two stalks of sugar cane in her hand. Mei-yu sat down to wait. Just then some men came on the main path from town. Some had bags of rice on their carrying poles and some had big pieces of pork suspended from their fingers by a string. The sugar house workmen would have a good dinner with all that meat! They always had lots to eat! "What are you doing here, Fourth Little Sister?" Mei-yu looked around. It was Chi-kwang's mother coming home from town who had spoken to her. "I came to see my mother, and I'm watching the baby," she said pointing to the baby. "Wang Er-sao, sit down and eat some of our sugar cane while you rest," called out Mother who had arrived. Chi-kwang's mother slipped the arm cords from the basket on her back and rested the basket in the path while she sat on the ridge at the edge of the sugar cane field. "It's a tiresome climb from the river up here, and my load is heavy today. I shall enjoy some sugar cane while I rest," she replied. "What big sugar cane you have," she said admiringly. "It's that new stock from the Agricultural Bureau," Mother explained, "but it is so late that I fear some of its juice is gone. We always come late at the sugar house because we are the third generation from the top of the clan line." Chi-kwang's mother nodded sympathetically and Mother went on, "Yes, it's always that way. We have the same problem. We plant late hoping the sugar cane will mature late, but I fear they won't even get to us before China New Year, this year, and if they don't, our year's crop will all be lost. I do hope they hurry."

Mei-yu had been lost in thought as she ate her sugar cane. She chewed and spit out the pulp, and now there was a little ring of white pulp all around her. She stopped chewing and spoke out, "My father is coming home at China New Year to stay. Grand-

mother said so. Mother is just too busy," she said, imitating Grandmother's tones and words. The baby began to stir. Mother picked her up and mechanically unbuttoned her blouse and began to feed her again. Chi-kwang's mother began to put her arms into the basket rope, ready to go home. "Mei-yu, you go home with Wang Er-sao. You go straight to Grandmother," Mother commanded. "Wang Er-sao, may I trouble you? Just put her inside the wall and she can go home, but she is too little to go alone through the sugar cane. Mei-fu and I must oversee the workmen. It's a bother with no man in the family!" she concluded. "Even a grown-up might get lost in the paths. You come with me, Fourth Little Sister," said Chi-kwang's mother, and they started toward home.

#### GOING TO THE SUGAR HOUSE

Mother was changing her short blouse for her long garment, preparing to go to the sugar house. When Grandmother had commanded, "You must be at the sugar house to watch our interests," Mother had appointed the other teacher to teach the older pupils, and Mei-fu to take her place and hear the lessons of the little ones at school. "Let me go with you to the sugar house?" asked Mei-lu. Mei-yu moved over nearer to Mei-lu hopefully. "I want to go too," begged Mei-shou. "You may all go for a while," Mother said. "You older girls will then go to school and Mei-yu can wait for me and come home when I come to feed the baby." They hurried out the back door. Mei-yu ran to keep up with Mei-lu. Past the big rose-bush, they ran straight for the sugar house. Outside the big gate of the sugar house, they paused breathless to wait for Mother. Mother and Mei-shou came and they all stood aside respectfully while Mother entered first. They all stopped just inside the gate to sniff the good smell of the cooking sugar. Then they went quickly from one kettle to another of the boiling sugar, coming at the end to that one where the sugar cane juice was almost ready to take out. The workmen stopped and spoke to them at each kettle. The man tending the last kettle said, "Don't you want some candy, Ssu-mei?"<sup>2</sup> Mei-yu nodded her head eagerly. He broke off three joints of *kaoliang*<sup>3</sup> stalk, and handed one each to the older girls. "You girls

<sup>2</sup> Ssu-mei means fourth little sister. The educated family called Mei-yu by her name. Others used numerals for girls particularly, often for boys and for workmen.

<sup>3</sup> Kaoliang is a sort of kaffir corn the stalks of which have a great variety of uses in everyday life.



can make your own stick of candy. I will make one for Ssu-mei," he said. Mei-yu kept her eyes on the man as he plunged one end of the stick into the boiling syrup, took it out to cool and then put it in again. Over and over, he plunged in it, and took it out to cool. The candy on the end of the stick got bigger and bigger. It was a big hard lump. "There, I guess that is big enough for you," he said as he handed it to her. "Thank you," said Mei-yu bowing a deep bow politely. She tasted it. My, but it was good. "That's enough," Mother spoke to Mei-yu's sisters, who still continued to plunge their sticks into the syrup. "Eat them quickly now. Do not take them to school for everyone will want one." So they ate, licking at the sweet candy on the end of the stick. "Mine's the biggest," boasted Mei-lu. "Mine's the best," replied Mei-shou. Mei-yu didn't say anything. She just ate. She was watching the water buffaloes as they went round and round pulling the huge crushing stone. She didn't notice when her sisters left for school. She walked about as she ate. When the candy got down near the stick, she could bite off some.

She walked over to where she could see the juice pouring into the great stone vat down below. It looked green but the candy on her stick was yellow and the sugar in the big wooden casks was quite red. She played a little while by the great piles of sugar cane. "Better play over beside the sugar casks, you might get hurt here," said one of the workmen as he hoisted a big bundle of sugar cane to feed it into the great stone crusher. "Get out of the way, Mei-yu," called Mother when she heard the workman speak to her daughter. Mei-yu walked over to the high stone banister where she could look down below and see the men feed the fires under each of the boiling sugar kettles. The men's faces were red from the fire. She leaned over as far as she could to see. When her candy was finished, she wandered back to the last kettle of boiling syrup. "Not hungry again, are you Ssu-mei?" asked the man who had made her candy stick. "I would like one to take home to the baby and one for Grandmother, please," said Mei-yu. The man's eyes twinkled. "Your baby's too small to eat candy. I will make one for your Grandmother," he agreed, but Mei-yu saw him prepare two kao-liang sticks and begin to plunge them in. "We must go now and feed the baby," said Mother turning away from the manager with whom she had been talking almost ever since they came. The candy



sticks were finished and the man put one into each of Mei-yu's hands. "Say thank you and make your bow," admonished Mother. Mei-yu made her bow and thanked him and they started home walking slowly while she held the candy carefully.

When they went around the rose-bush, they saw Grandmother's back. "I've brought you something, Grandmother," called Mei-yu. "These tea flowers are not doing well this year," said Grandmother pinching off some yellow leaves before she turned around. Mei-yu ran up to her and held up the candy stick. "What, for me?" exclaimed Grandmother in astonishment, as Mei-yu gave her the candy. "One is for the baby and one for you," explained Mei-yu. "The baby would rather eat her mother's milk than candy; I'll put her stick here in the pen holder to save for her," said Grandmother, as they went into the house. Grandmother sat down and began to lick her candy stick. Mei-yu found her little bamboo stool and moved it near to Grandmother's big chair. She leaned her head against Grandmother's black satin knee. "Go climb into my bed and take a nap," said Grandmother. Mei-yu climbed up onto the long bench which ran the whole length of the bed, and then crawled over to the back of the bed and was soon fast asleep.

#### GOING TO BED AND GETTING UP

Mei-yu had slept with Grandmother ever since the baby came. Every night she enjoyed preparations for going to bed. Each night it was the same. When it was dark, Mei-fu lighted the big red candle, and placed it on the little bride table. Then she moved Grandmother's big chair beside the table. Grandmother found her glasses, got her book with the little fine print, and sat down to read. Mei-yu undressed, crawled into bed and watched Grandmother's eyes through her glasses. Grandmother read a while, slipped her glasses down onto her nose, and chuckled over what she had read. Her eyes always laughed too. And then . . . it was morning.

Mei-fu brought in the big brass wash basin of steaming hot water and placed it on the bride table, put the tall pewter candlestick carefully on the floor against the wall, where no one could knock it over, and carried out the toilet bucket. Grandmother got up, washed, combed her hair, and put on her black velvet cap. When Mei-lu came in with Grandmother's pot of tea, Mei-yu hopped

quickly out of bed. Grandmother would be sure to give her some tea. She sniffed. There was the odor of Grandmother's hand lotion, but even stronger was the fragrance of Grandmother's first quality jasmine tea. Mei-shou came in with the broom and dust pan and began to sweep. "Don't hurry to sweep, you will stir the dust! Let's have some tea first," Grandmother admonished, pouring tea for herself into the thousand flower cup and that for the girls into the blue-lined brown cups. Grandmother bustled over to the big chest and leaned far down into it. Mei-yu looked happily at Mei-shou. When Grandmother straightened up, she had a bundle of cakes. "We will have some of my daughter's cakes with our tea," she remarked, as she opened the parcel and selected a cake with pink frosting on top and placed it in Mei-yu's ready hand. The one with yellow frosting was put into Mei-shou's hand. Just then Mother came in, nursing the baby as she walked. She went over and poured tea for herself into a brown cup. "Help yourself to a cake, Daughter-in-law," Grandmother graciously invited as she seated herself in the big chair. Mother selected a cake with no icing on the top. She seated herself on the edge of the bed, and began to eat as the baby continued to nurse. Mei-fu came in to ask what vegetable Liu-ma should prepare for breakfast. Grandmother gave her a cake and she helped herself to a cup of tea, carrying both with her as she returned to instruct Liu-ma. As Mei-fu disappeared Mei-lu immediately entered. Grandmother chuckled and handed her a cake.

#### CELEBRATING CHINA NEW YEAR

It was China New Year! Mei-yu's father had come home. The new dresses were all made. The firecrackers and candles and cakes and meat were all ready for the next two weeks' use. Mei-yu was wearing her new dress. She loved it. She ran her hand down it to feel how nice it felt. It was a long one exactly like Mei-fu's and Mei-shou's. They all looked just alike. Mother's new dress was pretty too. Father had brought her gifts from Chengtu and had bought some more from the Native Production Store in Shih Ch'iao. She especially liked the wagon that pulled with a rope, and best of all was the shiny silver airplane just like the airplanes that flew over them every day.

For days and days the men and boys from other places had been there to worship with all the ten branches of the clan in their big

ancestral worship hall. Yesterday all except their own clan branch had all gone home. Last night was their own Clan Ceremonial and Father had participated. Mei-yu had gone with Mei-lu and Mei-shou and stood outside the gate and looked. Mei-fu, her eldest sister, had stayed at home with Mother and Grandmother. Mei-lu pointed out Father but Mei-yu couldn't see because there were so many people. Someone lifted her up to stand on the stone lion at the gate where she could see the pretty lights and burning incense. They looked like the blossoms of the red flowering plum tree in their backyard. She was a little frightened when the firecrackers went off but it was fun too. After they got home, they told Mei-fu all about it. Grandmother gave them each a bowl of noodles and when they had eaten, Grandmother led Mei-yu by the hand and they went into Mother's guest room.

There was the lovely little white jade *Kuan Yin* with the candlesticks on either side of her and the incense bowl directly in front of her. The pewter incense bowl and candlesticks were shined until they sparkled and the candles sparkled too. In the room, Grandmother lighted a bundle of incense and divided it, giving a stick to Mei-yu and to each of her sisters and a large bundle to Mother. When Grandmother knelt before *Kuan Yin* and made the three *k'o t'ou*, Mei-yu knelt just behind her and did what she did. When they stood up, Mother and her sisters knelt and made the *k'o t'ou* and each of them placed their incense into the bowl. Then Grandmother spoke, "*Kuan Yin* loves women and children and always hears our prayers," she said, and Mei-yu didn't remember any more. She didn't have to go to bed because it was China New Year Eve but she must have gone to sleep somewhere for she had awakened in Grandmother's big bed.

The *k'o t'ou* to Grandmother was the most important thing the next morning. When they were all dressed, in their new dresses, Father had called them and they had gone into Grandmother's room together. Grandmother who was wearing her best dress too, was seated in her big chair. "*Kung hsi, Kung hsi*," they had called merrily altogether. Father with Mother kneeling beside him, first made the three *k'ou t'ou* to Grandmother. Then Mei-fu, and Mei-lu, and Mei-shou and Mei-yu herself, all knelt together and made the *k'ou t'ou* to Grandmother. After that they had breakfast with many special foods to eat.



Following that Father and Mother had gone to Kien Yang to visit Maternal Grandmother. Mei-fu had stayed to help Grandmother. "The college students are coming, you will receive them for me," Mother had said to Mei-fu. "Two of them may sleep in my own guest room." "Set your heart at rest, I'll attend to everything. Do I need to be told how to receive guests?" Grandmother had retorted. "Is not Liu-ma here? My wants are few. I will send Liu-ma to serve the guests." Mei-yu had wanted to stay with Grandmother so she remained at home. Mei-lu and Mei-shou and of course the baby had gone with Father and Mother. "May I see the college students, Grandmother?" asked Mei-yu. She hoped Miss Feng and Hai Hsien-sheng would come. She remembered the time they had slept in Grandmother's room in one of the other beds. That night she had seen Grandmother sitting there reading just as usual, but in the other bed were strange folk. She liked them and she could still sing that song Hai Hsien-sheng had taught her. "Will Hai Hsien-sheng and Miss Feng come, Grandmother?" she asked. "Oh, I do want to see the college students!" she cried, hopping from one foot to the other. Mei-fu started out of the door. Mei-yu hastened to go with her; maybe the college students had come. And sure enough when they got to the ancestral hall theater space, they were there. Mei-fu bowed to Miss Feng and then to Hai Hsien-sheng. "My mother apologizes that she is not at home, but invites you to occupy her guest room," she said politely just like Mother. Miss Feng introduced everyone to Mei-fu. Last of all she said, "This is Mrs. Yeh from Chengtu. She and Hai Hsien-sheng will accept your invitation to stay in your mother's guest room. You may take them to your grandmother. Tell her I will call soon."

Mei-fu and Mei-yu led the two guests to Grandmother. Grandmother knew Hai Hsien-sheng, and Mrs. Yeh was very polite. Mei-yu could tell that Grandmother liked them. After they had washed their faces, and drunk their tea, Grandmother herself had gone to the guest room to see them. Then she showed them all her choicest treasures. "You have a very old and large clan here," said Mrs. Yeh. "Yes, we have the clan history for many years," Grandmother said proudly. "Mei-fu, bring the family history books." And Mei-fu had brought the volume that had Grandfather who had been an official in it. Mrs. Yeh read it eagerly. "Tell us about him," she requested Grandmother.



And then they had gone about the whole house to see everything. The big carved Lao T'ieh Kuei from Fukien hardly looked familiar, he was so cleaned and shined for China New Year. Mei-yu could hardly ever see him because he sat far back on the high table behind the pen holder. Even when she stood on the high bench she just barely glimpsed him. Mrs. Yeh and Hai Hsien-sheng admired all the pretty things. They looked at the *Kuan Yin* and Grandmother told them about the worship the night before. "Mei-yu burned incense to *Kuan Yin*," Grandmother told them, putting her hand on Mei-yu's shoulder. "I worshipped *Kuan Yin* with my grandmother when I was the size of Mei-yu," Mrs. Yeh said. "Then my father became a Christian man, and now I have married a Christian man," said Mrs. Yeh smiling. Grandmother sighed a deep sigh. Grandmother sounded unhappy. "My son says my granddaughters shall attend the Christian schools, but I shall teach them to worship the *Kuan Yin* and the Ancestors. *Kuan Yin* cares for women and children," replied Grandmother. Then Grandmother smiled again and her eyes twinkled. "Perhaps Mei-yu will grow up and go to college and then marry a Christian man like you," she said merrily.

Grandmother showed Mrs. Yeh the scroll on the wall, and proudly told her about the wife who killed herself so she could be buried with her husband who had died. Mei-yu knew it had something to do with the widow's arch on the way to Kien Yang but she didn't know what the words on the writing said so she didn't listen. She felt the satin of Mrs. Yeh's dress and looked at the pretty flowers on its border. They looked like Grandmother's roses.

Gifts from relatives made Grandmother very happy. When Second-Cousin-Born-Outside came with gifts, Mei-yu and Grandmother both went quickly to meet him. He had a big piece of pork and two bundles of cakes. "Sit down, sit down, and have some refreshments, child," cooed Grandmother. "My daughter always remembers me with such nice gifts," she commented. Neither she nor Mei-yu noticed when Mrs. Yeh and Hai Hsien-sheng left for the ancestral hall where the college students were. When Second-Cousin-Born-Outside had eaten a bowl of Grandmother's five-nut gruel, Mei-yu and her sister took him to the ancestral hall to see the college students.

As they arrived, a large group of children were gathered about

one of the college students. Mrs. Yeh saw them and called, "Miss Man is going to teach you some games, Mei-fu. Do you want to call some more of your friends to play?" Mei-fu quickly ran to the big gate and called Chi-kwang's eldest sister to come and play. They made a big circle and played but Mei-yu did not join them. Moving closely to Mrs. Yeh she gently touched the flowered border of her black satin dress. Prettier even than Mother's new dress. Mrs. Yeh's eyes twinkled down at her. "Don't you want to play, Mei-yu?" she asked. Mei-yu nodded her head. Mrs. Yeh led her over to the group and held one of her hands while she took Mei-fu by the other hand and joined in the circle. Mei-yu didn't know the song they were singing, but she watched the others and tried to do what they did. When they were through that song, Miss Man, the college girl, asked what songs they had learned at school, and they began to sing the song that she and her sisters liked the best. She sang and did the motions too.

Knock, knock, knock, knock. What a din!

"Open the door, and let me in."

"No no, no no. We can't open the door

Mama hasn't returned from her visit to the poor,

She hasn't returned, so we can't open the door."

After they had sung two familiar songs, Miss Man asked, "Who owns the ancestral hall?" "The clan," the children all replied in unison. "Who shoots off the firecrackers?" she again asked. "The clan," they chorused. "Who cleans up the ancestral hall?" she then asked. Mei-yu looked at Mei-fu. Chi-kwang's sister looked at both of them. Nobody said a word because they didn't know. Finally Mei-fu bowed to Miss Man and said, "Teacher, we don't know. Nobody has the responsibility because we all have it." Mrs. Yeh and the college girl smiled. The latter replied, "Yes, you are right, the responsibility belongs to all of us. We all enjoyed the firecrackers, and we should help to clean up after them. In Hupeh Province where I lived when I was your size, everyone, big and little, helped to clean up the ancestral hall. How many here would like to help clean your ancestral hall?" When the other children raised their hands, Mei-yu raised her hand too. She left the circle and ran with Mei-fu to get their broom and dust pan. All the

children ran to get their brooms and dust pans. Mei-fu allowed Mei-yu to carry the dust pan. When they got back, Mei-fu started to sweep nearest to their own doorway, and swept the dirt toward the center. My, what a lot of red papers from the firecrackers! The whole paved courtyard was layers deep. Mei-fu swept hard. Everyone else, sweeping hard, swept the dirt toward the center. When Mei-fu had swept a big pile, Mei-yu held the dust pan for her to take it up. She sneezed, the dust got in her nose. While Mei-fu went to empty the dust pan, Mei-yu took up their broom and began to sweep. "Sweep it this way, Mei-mei," said Miss Man. Chi-kwang's eldest sister swept beside her. Then Mei-fu returned and took the broom again. Mei-yu sneezed again. That old dust got in her nose.

"Come and show me your ancestral hall, Mei-yu. What pretty carved doorways you have," Mrs. Yeh called. Mei-yu went over to the doorway beside Mrs. Yeh. She reached up and traced the faintly pink tree peony flower with its green leaf, in the lattice of the doorway. She led Mrs. Yeh to the small ancestral worship hall which belonged to their very own branch of the clan. "This is where Father worships," she explained. Then she led Mrs. Yeh across the courtyard, which was now clean, to see the ancestral worship hall of a nearby branch of the clan, and finally to the doorway of the big ancestral hall where all ten branches of the clan worshipped. "This is where the incense and candles were all lighted last night," she said. "They looked like our red flowering plum tree. You can see it tonight yourself, Mrs. Yeh." Mrs. Yeh smiled as she replied, "It is so pretty! And now it is much more beautiful because you have all helped to make it clean." Mrs. Yeh then turned and addressed all the big pupils who were now through sweeping and had followed them with their brooms in their hands, "You have such a beautiful ancestral hall. You must always keep it clean. To keep public buildings clean is to be a good citizen of China." After that Mei-yu went home with Mei-fu to get her dinner.

#### PLAYING AT NURSERY SCHOOL

Mei-yu was in the nursery school. "We are going on an excursion after we have our morning lunch today," announced the Teacher. "Where would you children like to go?" she asked. "To play in the boat under the big soap-berry tree," Mei-yu spoke up quickly. She loved the shade of those big soap-berry trees, and how she

did like to play in that boat! Mei-fu hardly ever took her there to play because it was outside the wall, and she couldn't go unless Eldest Sister took her. "Where else would you like to go?" Teacher asked. "Come to my house to see my Grandfather," Chi-kwang urged in a little high voice. He was still standing in the doorway beside his mother who had brought him to school. Miss Gin, the teacher, looked at her. "Yes, do come to our house, Old Grandfather would like to meet the teacher and see the children." His mother thus seconded Chi-kwang's invitation, and started home to prepare for them. Kuo-yung's mother came in just then, bringing a big bowl of yellow corn cakes. It was her day to prepare the lunch for the nursery. She walked over to the table and set the bowl beside the big pewter tea pot of boiled water. Then she searched in the kitchen until she found a cloth and covered the cakes from the flies as Teacher had taught them to do.

The whistle blew for school to begin. They all hurried to the toilet bumping into each other. "Slowly, slowly," said Chi-kwang's sister, who was Teacher's assistant today. "You go first, Kuo-yung, you go second, Mei-yu. You go after Mei-yu, Chi-kwang," she pulled them back so they went in order to the toilet. Mei-yu finished and hurried out, fastening her trousers on the way to the wash basin where Miss Gin waited to supervise the handwashing. When they were all through, each one sat on his own little stool in front of the table in the nursery-part of the ancestral hall. The piles of bean vines were pushed back against the wall, so they had plenty of room right between the doorways. It was always nice and cool. They sang and they chanted their nursery rhymes, and played and ate lunch and now, they were ready to go on the excursion.

"Tsou tsou tsou,  
Chung Kuo Hsia Hai  
Tsou tsou tsou."

"Walk, walk, walk,  
Good Chinese children  
All like to walk."

They sang as they walked in a straight line just as the big boys and girls did when they went to school. They marched across the big open courtyard, through the schoolyard, from one side to the other



of the paved theater courtyard, through the second school room, down the path through the flower garden, and finally reached the big front gate. Then they broke ranks and ran. Mei-yu and Kuo-yung ran fastest, straight for the boat under the soap-berry trees. Chi-kwang ran too, fell down, and started to cry. "Pick yourself up, Chi-kwang," Teacher urged him. He lay there till this eldest sister came to help him up, then smiled sunnily and trotted on ahead. Mei-yu and Kuo-yung paused at the big building stones and looked back at Teacher. She smiled and nodded her head and they ran on down the hill to the boat. A man was fixing the boat. He put some black smelly stuff into the crevices. Mei-yu sniffed. "Why do you do that?" she asked. "Making it ready to use," he replied. "See that river, how high it is," he said pointing to the river which seemed right beside them. It was high and flowing swiftly with trees and things floating on it. She stretched out her hand to touch the river, but couldn't reach it. "I'll need my boat with that high water," he said, putting more black stuff into the crevices. Mei-yu stuck her finger into the black stuff. It was warm and sticky. She started to wipe it off, but it wouldn't come off. Kuo-yung stuck his hand in and got it sticky all over. He wiped it on his leg and got his leg sticky. Chi-kwang, Ch'uan-wei, and Hsiao-hung all played on the big building stones with the teacher and Chi-kwang's eldest sister. Ch'uan-wei climbed up high on them. "Be careful, you'll fall," called Chi-kwang fearfully. Hsiao-hung stood up. "See me, see me," she called as she stood up high on the stones. "See me, see me," called Ch'uan-wei. "See me, see me," called one after another.

#### VISITING CHI-KWANG'S HOME

"Come, children, we will now go to visit Chi-kwang's grandfather," called the teacher. Mei-yu ran up the hill and paused beside the teacher. She was breathing hard and the sweat ran off her nose. She wiped the sweat out of her eyes as she ran on to overtake Chi-kwang. She had never before been to Chi-kwang's house, it was outside of the wall, nor had she seen his grandfather. The house was over in that clump of bamboos, which Chi-kwang often pointed out to her. Very soon, they reached the bamboos. The children all stood back respectfully for the teacher to enter first, and there was Chi-kwang's mother to greet them. Chi-kwang ran

and clasped his arms about his mother's leg. Mei-yu stood and looked at the house. It was different from hers. There were no other houses up against it like hers, and it had a thatched roof instead of tile. Chi-kwang's mother talked with the teacher and at the same time mechanically unbuttoned her blouse, reached down, gathered up Chi-kwang to her breast, and plumped a nipple into his mouth. Holding him there with one arm, she escorted Teacher into the house. "Old Father, here are the teacher and the pupils," she called as they entered. There was Chi-kwang's grandfather with a long white beard, glasses on his nose, and a little black scholar's cap on his head. As they entered, he turned from a book he was reading. "Don't get up, don't get up," Miss Gin urged him. "What fine print you read," she commented looking at his book. "What is your honorable age?" she asked politely. "I'm eighty now and my eyes are better than they used to be," he replied, sitting back down into his chair beside the big table. He handed his book to Teacher to read. Mei-yu walked through that room to look at the courtyard beyond. Chi-kwang slid down from his mother's arm and joined Mei-yu. "Boil water and make tea for the teacher. Find something for the children to eat," Grandfather commanded Chi-kwang's mother. She immediately went to the kitchen and lighted the fire. "I want to see your whole house, I have heard what an excellent housekeeper you are," Teacher said, following her into the kitchen. In the kitchen she said to Chi-kwang's mother, "Thank you for Grandfather's kind thought, but the children have had lunch; they will only have a drink of boiled water." As Chi-kwang's mother started the fire under the big kettle, his elder sister began to dip water from the big water jar beside the stove, and pour it into the cauldron. "You mind the fire, Eldest Daughter, and I will show the rest of the house to Miss Gin," said her mother.

"Grandfather insists on cleanliness and orderliness," she explained her clean house with becoming modesty. Mei-yu stayed close to Teacher so she could see the house too. Chi-kwang and she wedged their way in beside his mother when they entered the bedroom. "I am glad you have a window in your bedroom. Chi-kwang needs fresh air when he sleeps," Miss Gin commented. "Did you make this beautiful bed valance?" she asked as she examined the six-foot-long valance with the heavy blue cross-stitch embroidery which reached from the bed down almost to the floor. "I did it before

I was married," she said. "It took all my spare time for seven years," she continued. "I couldn't do it now, my eyes aren't good enough and I'm too busy. I just make Chi-kwang's aprons and shoes, and Eldest Daughter does most of them." "It's just like Grandmother's," interjected Mei-yu. "She has such pretty ones put away in the big chest. We have new style ones bought from the store on the beds," she said importantly. "What fine stitches you have put into the embroidery! And isn't this the scholar pattern?" asked Teacher. "Yes, it is. My maternal father was a scholar. My family betrothed me into this family when I was a little girl. I knew Old Grandfather here was a great scholar so I embroidered the scholar pattern on my dowry chest bed valance." Miss Gin studied it some more. "The figures are very life-like. You are a skilled needlewoman," she commented. Mei-yu looked at it closely. Yes, it was just like Grandmother's. There was that man on the horse with the long, long tail. "The water's boiled, the water's boiled," called Eldest Sister. They went into Grandfather's room and drank the tea, and went back to school. Mei-yu hurried to tell Grandmother about the bed valance.

#### SHELLING THE CORN

Mei-yu had fun shelling corn with the mothers, grandmothers, and children in the portico of the theater courtyard. She had come with her sisters but her mother hadn't come yet because Mother didn't like to shell corn and the women were talking about it. "Well, you can't blame her much for not wanting to shell corn, she is city born and reared," Chi-kwang's mother was defending Mei-yu's mother. When they had arrived, Chi-kwang's mother had shoved over to make room for them to sit beside her. Mei-fu had told the manservant who carried their basket of corn to dump it in the vacant place prepared by Chi-kwang's mother. "Mother will come when she has fed the baby," she had remarked to the company in general as she seated herself and began to shell corn. "Everyone else brings her baby and feeds it here!" remarked Kuo-yung's mother. "Well, you can't blame her. When does a woman ever have a chance to rest except when she feeds the bosom baby?" interjected Hwang Ta-sao. Grandmothers and mothers all nodded their heads. When did they?

Mei-yu squeezed in between Mei-fu and Chi-kwang and began to shell corn energetically. She worked and worked and she had



finished a whole ear, except for those last little hard kernels. Mei-fu took it and finished for her. "You do this one, Mei-mei, it is easier," she said, handing her a larger loose-kernel ear. Chi-kwang shelled an ear too. Chi-kwang's eldest sister got up and moved over beside Mei-fu where they could talk to each other. Mei-yu stopped shelling and began to play in the corn in Chi-kwang's basket which was almost full while her own basket only had a little corn in the bottom of it. She dipped her hand down, then held it high, letting the golden stream of corn run from her hand. Next Chi-kwang gathered a handful and let it pour down into the basket. It was fun! Mei-yu quickly gathered a handful of corn and threw it into the air. It came down on the heads of Mei-fu, Chi-kwang's eldest sister and Chi-kwang's mother. Chi-kwang laughed out loudly. He grabbed a handful ready to throw but his mother was too quick for him. She caught his hand and pulled it back. Mei-yu plunged both hands in and threw two handfuls high into the air. Everyone was laughing. "Slowly, slowly," Chi-kwang's mother admonished, "do not waste the corn." Hwang Ta-sao was looking at Mei-yu and Chi-kwang and laughing when her little Hsiao-hung threw a handful into the air. Kuo-yung was a bigger boy than these two so he could throw farther. He gathered up a handful and threw it far. It went right across the circle and landed on Hwang Ta-sao. Kuo-yung's eldest sister grabbed his hand as he had it filled ready for a second throw. Ch'uan-wei, who was as big as Kuo-yung, could throw as far so he grabbed a handful of corn but his mother was watching him. Their position in the community was precarious with Ch'uan-wei's father gone and he must be a good boy. She seized his hand at the same time, placing her mouth to his ear to warn him against wasting the corn. Ch'uan-wei let the corn slowly trickle through his fingers.

Chi-kwang wiggled and started to get more corn. His mother unbuttoned her blouse and chuckled a nipple into his ever-ready mouth with one hand while she hugged him up against her body with the other. He cast one smiling eye at Mei-yu as he contentedly snuggled down against his mother. Kuo-yung pulled himself loose from Eldest Sister's restraining hand and walked around to the other side of his mother's basket. He couldn't squeeze in, so he climbed up over her shoulder. Sitting on the pile of corn beside her, he unbuttoned his mother's blouse, pulled out one flabby breast



and put the nipple up into his mouth while his other hand played with the second nipple. Ch'uan-wei began to wiggle. His mother put a fat ear of corn into his hand, saying, "My big son, help mother shell the corn," and Ch'uan-wei happily shelled corn. Hsiao-hung with a sly smile began to pull at her mother's blouse but Hwang Ta-sao removed her hand. "You are a big scholar now in the nursery and don't eat your mother's milk any more," she said. She searched in her pocket and produced a hard dry corn cake which she put into Hsiao-hung's hand. "You and Mei-yu play on the theater platform while you two eat it," she suggested. Mei-yu and Hsiao-hung had just begun to eat their cake when Chi-kwang abandoned his mother's breast for the fascinating cake. "He won't eat corn cake at home," Chi-kwang's mother lamented. "I can't get him to eat cereal or the pepper-salt vegetable. He is so thin!" she continued. "Since my Hsiao-hung stopped nursing she eats everything and is getting fat," said Hwang Ta-sao. "She's certainly fatter," admitted Chi-kwang's mother. "But my son! who can deny a son when he wants to nurse?" she concluded. Heads all around the circle nodded as they continued to shell their corn. Kuo-yung had moved from the pile of corn down astride his mother's knee. While he sucked one nipple, he alternately pinched and pulled the other. Each time his mother had winced but said nothing, finally she spoke, "Gently, gently, my son. This man child of mine is growing big and strong," she proudly told the busy mothers. "The longer you nurse them the stronger they will be. I shall nurse him till he's seven and goes to school," she said. "If you don't have another breast baby to take his place," one old grandmother told her. "Maybe the new baby will be a girl and I can still feed my son," retorted Kuo-yung's mother, significantly looking at Hsiao-hung's mother.

Ch'uan-wei was tired of shelling corn. He left his mother and started toward the children on the theater platform. He stopped beside the flower urn, untied his belt, pulled down his trousers in front and started to urinate. The other children saw him. Mei-yu began the chant and all of them took it up:

"Go to the toilet,  
Go to the toilet,  
All good children  
Go to the toilet."

Various mothers joined in the nursery school chant, which was efficacious, for Ch'uan-wei chanted with them and, holding his trouser's cord in one hand and his trousers in the other, he went to the toilet in the back courtyard. "They learn so much at school," said Ch'uan-wei's mother. "Imagine a child going to the toilet," chuckled the old grandmother.

Chi-kwang's father appeared in the doorway. "Chi-kwang's mother," he addressed his wife, "you are needed at home. Old Grandfather wants some tea and hot gruel and you must go immediately. I will bring the basket, and Chi-kwang can come with his sister." The women looked at each other. Always it was that way! Always he spoke kindly to her and carried her basket. It was almost disgraceful, their glances said. Hsiao-hung's mother put the unshelled corn into the basket on top of the shelled corn; her grandmother helped her to hoist the basket onto her back and she called Hsiao-hung as they started home to make dinner. One family after another gathered up their corn and cobs and started home. Still Mother had not come. "Get the brooms, and I will help to sweep the hall ready for the parents' meeting this afternoon," Hwang Ta-sao said to Mei-fu. Chi-kwang's eldest sister got a broom and they all cleaned the hall before starting home.

## Chapter 7

THE OLDER CHILDREN  
PURSUE KNOWLEDGE

## GOING TO HIGH SCHOOL

"Mei-fu's going to high school  
Mei-fu's going to high school,"

chanted Mei-yu, making a nice song of it. She tried singing it to the nursery school tune:

"Go, go, go,  
Sister Mei-fu is going to high school."

That sounded nice too. She and Hsiao-hung could sing it. She walked out of her front door, through the ancestral hall courtyard and over to Hsiao-hung's yard. "Hsiao-hung, hear me sing a nice song," she called. Hsiao-hung joined her and soon she too could sing it. "Mei-fu's going to high school." They marched together round and round Hsiao-hung's courtyard as they sang. When they stopped, Mei-yu told her friend about Mei-fu's plans for school. "The new school uniform is home from the tailor's," she said. "Black skirt, scout blouse, and a hat like the soldiers wear," she recited the clothing with the same chant she had used for the going to high school song. Mei-fu would stay with born-outside relatives—Grandmother's daughter's family, Mei-yu confided to Hsiao-hung, and she would come home every week as if she were visiting them. They continued to talk it over. Chi-kwang's sister, who was Mei-fu's best friend, wanted to go too. Her father told her to be in no hurry as she could learn some more in the *Pao Chia* school and she was needed to help her mother at home. Ling Chia-wen wanted to go

but her mother also needed her help at home with the sewing. Only Mei-fu was going to high school.

"Mei-fu's going to high school," sang Mei-yu as she went back home again. The whole class was ready to go to high school, Mother had said. Now Mother would have to add an extra class at school for Ling Chia-wen and Chi-kwang's sister. Kuo-yung's brother, Kuo-an, was going to the classics school, so he would not be in the class. One day Mei-yu had heard her father and Kuo-yung's father arguing and talking mad to each other about how Kuo-yung's brother was going to classics school. The quarrel started when they were sitting around a table in the courtyard where Hsiao-hung lived. "Modern education is best for new China," Mei-yu's father had said loudly, and was red in the face. Kuo-yung's father was a little man. He stood up and shouted, "Classics are best for our sons. It's a disgrace for them to be in third grade and not know Mencius. Modern education is only good for girls." He was red in the face too. Father jumped up. "Go home, Mei-yu," he said to her. He took her by the shoulder and pushed her quickly toward their house and she almost ran to keep up with him. Mei-yu saw how sad Mother looked and how Grandmother's eyes snapped when Father told them about the quarrel, so she went to play in the flower garden. "Modern education, modern education," she chanted as she walked around the flowering plum tree several times. She saw the workman busy with the animals and going over to him she chanted, "Modern education, modern education." He smiled down at her. "You will get plenty of modern education, Fourth Little Sister," he said. "But classics are good for boys. Who knows! The girls of this family may bring more honor to the clan than the boys." When Mei-yu went back to the house, Mother and Father and Grandmother were still talking. It seemed as if they would never stop. Liu-ma was standing with the dust cloth in her hand, making little movements toward dusting the *Lao T'ieh Kuei* and other things on top of the big chest near the kitchen door, but really just listening. "Why shouldn't girls be educated? Haven't the women of our family always learned to read? Look at our family records!" Grandmother said, laying her hand on the big pile of family record books which she had taken from the chest. "Of course, boys and girls must both learn the classics, but there is no hurry. They will learn them in high



school. Mencius and Confucius are too hard for the little ones," Mother observed. "Anyhow, we have the *Pao Chia* school and modern education is started here," said Father with great pride. "Modern education, modern education," chanted Mei-yu. Grandmother laughed her bubbly laugh. "Mei-yu will go to high school and college too, some day," she commented. "All my daughters shall go to college just as if they were boys," said Father. "Only five boys are going to the classics school and that won't cut down the enrollment very much." "Most of the boys are from the other Wu settlement," Mother reflected aloud. Father lighted his pipe and went out to oversee the workmen as they gathered the pea crop from the big fields. Grandmother put on glasses and took up a volume of the family records. "All changes come slowly," she remarked. Mei-yu hoped she might think of eating cakes, but she didn't. Mother took up her knitting. "Liu-ma, get to work," she said mechanically. "Our girls are smarter than their boys, that's what's the matter," opined Liu-ma as she took the dust cloth and moved toward the kitchen, leaving the Lao T'ieh Kuei still undusted. Mei-yu felt the warm heavy wool which Mother was making into Mei-fu's sweater to wear to high school.

#### TROUBLE IN THE YOUTH CLASS

It was a long time after Mei-fu had started to high school. "Miss Feng is having her troubles," Mother reported to Grandmother. "I expected it. That youth literacy class is too popular. There was bound to be jealousy and trouble," Grandmother replied bobbing her head as she talked. "What has happened?" she inquired. "It's the clan elders, they are determined to stop modern education," said Mother. "Last night Ling Han-lin went to the school with rope and a hatchet to take his daughter from class. He threatened to kill her if she studied any more, and the class scattered." Mei-yu interrupted excitedly, "Did he tie her with the rope, Mother?" Her mother smiled reassuringly at her. "No, she obediently went home." "Some of the pupils will go back to class after a little, but his daughter and others of his own immediate family won't dare," she continued, addressing Grandmother. "You should never have admitted his daughter without his permission," said Grandmother. "You know his evil disposition and how he opposes education for women." Mother sighed deeply. "You are right. I suppose we

should not have allowed her to study, but her mother was so eager to have her learn to read, since her fiancé is a university man. Anyhow, when would women of this clan ever have education if we waited for the men to approve!" she exclaimed. "Ling Feng-wen would have had to stop and get ready for her marriage soon anyway, since the wedding date was set," Grandmother comforted Mother. "The clan head has been so happy since his concubine entered the class and stopped her *ou ch'i*, that he will be unwilling to have the class closed," she added. Mother went right on talking; she couldn't stop. "We were getting along nicely since Miss Feng came and organized those older boys into the 4H Club! After Ling Han-chin was elected leader, his father became quite friendly to us. Then the nursery school has made a difference. He is so pleased to have his last little one in that school. And now this trouble comes." Mother was very sad so Mei-yu didn't say anything but sat close to her on her little bamboo stool. "Changes always come slowly. It is hard for the elders to see changes made by those of us from the lower generation," Grandmother commented, putting her finger directly on the sore spot.

## *Chapter 8*

### CONDITIONS SPUR THE PARENTS TO ACTION

#### VISITING IN TOWN

Mei-yu was at Hai Hsien-sheng's house in Kien Yang. Her mother had brought her to town when she came to see Hai Hsien-sheng about the nursery school. They had gone directly to Outside-Grandmother's and stayed over night. Hai Hsien-sheng had sent the dinner invitation to them at Outside-Grandmother's house, and they had gone to dinner. Mei-yu had looked at all the house and had seen all the things Mother had earlier told her about. So many things were different from the things at her own house. Hai Hsien-sheng's bed was funny; it went up and down when she sat on it. Mei-yu had felt the lovely red satin comfort from Chengtu and the soft red woolen blanket, but most beautiful of all was the red, yellow, and green striped bedspread. It was even prettier than their own new bedspreads which Father had bought at the Native Goods Store in Shih Ch'iao. Hai Hsien-sheng's wash basin was different from their big brass wash basin and when Mei-yu washed her hands for dinner, she ran her finger round the rim in the bottom. It was smooth and white like a wash basin she had once seen in the Native Goods Store in Shih Ch'iao. Some things were just like the things at her house; the little bamboo stool which she sat on in Hai Hsien-sheng's room was just like hers, and the big bamboo chair which mother sat on was just like Grandmother's big chair. But she had never before seen window curtains. The windows were well papered and didn't need curtains; those red curtains were just there to look pretty. She hadn't looked enough at

the room, when dinner was ready and she had gone with Mother and Hai Hsien-sheng to the big room to eat.

Mei-yu and Hui-hui, who attended the nursery school in Kien Yang, sat at a table all their own, near the big table where Mother, Miss Feng, Hai Hsien-sheng, and Hui-hui's mother sat. Each of them sat on a bamboo stool and the little table was just big enough to hold their two bowls, their chopsticks, two little plates, and two big brass spoons. They had sung the nursery school blessing song which Hui-hui could sing too, and then they had eaten foreign food. Each time a dish was passed, Mother and Hai Hsien-sheng helped themselves and put some food on the little plates for her and Hui-hui to eat. They tried to eat with the brass spoons but Mei-yu soon put hers down and took up the chopsticks because she could eat faster with them. Hui-hui said she had a spoon at home, so she ate all her food with the spoon and ate it fast too. The meat didn't taste the same as at home but it was good. Each time Yu-ma, the serving woman, passed their table going from the kitchen to the big table, she stopped and added some food to what Mother and Hai Hsien-sheng gave them. They ate until their bowls and plates were quite clean, then Yu-ma brought them a bowl of custard which was sweet instead of salty and tasted like tangerines.

Mei-yu and Hui-hui didn't talk much, they just ate, but Mother and the people at the big table talked all the time they ate. When Mother mentioned the nursery school, Hui-hui's mother said a nursery school was a good thing. "When Hui-hui goes to nursery school, I can get much more work done. I am very busy overseeing the workmen at the sugar house," she told Mother. "It is so difficult without a man to do those things. Now my husband is at home, it is much easier. Is your husband away teaching as mine was?" Mother inquired. Hui-hui's mother got red in the face. "My husband is an only son, and is often away from home," she replied. "Our Grandmother is too old to take responsibility and there are many workmen," she explained. Miss Feng spoke out boldly. "You see, these only sons are spoiled. Her husband *ou ch'i* for a long time, and Mrs. Sha had to carry all the responsibility," she said. "Oh yes," replied Mei-yu's mother. "If one in the family *ou ch'i* the burden is heavier for others who must do the work. There is nothing to be done about it!" she concluded.

"Our clan wants the nursery school very much," Mother returned



to the important subject. "We have had such a struggle for modern education," she explained to Hui-hui's mother. "Many of the men of our clan want only the classics school and do not approve of modern education. Now, they have seen their boys and girls learning together in the nursery school. They realize its value and want to continue. They have learned so much through the parents' meetings that they are more friendly to modern education." Hui-hui's mother said, "We, too, have learned much from the parents' meetings. My two sisters who live across the river were so interested that they came each week last spring to attend the meetings here. Then a nursery school was established in my sister's home by one of the college girls in the summer. My sister met many obstacles from the old superstitions, but now all are convinced that they need a nursery school," she continued. "Mrs. Sha is modest," Miss Feng said. "She sponsored a nursery school in her own sugar house last summer, arranged the sugar house and cleaned it with her own hands daily, and provided boiled water for the children to drink." "The place wasn't nice," said Hui-hui's mother. "But it was cool. And you know how it is with servants during the war-time. We have no maid-servant and the field men will not do inside work. They carry the water or move furniture but will not sweep or dust." Mother hastened to reply, "Yes, we all understand that problem."

Mei-yu and Hui-hui had finished their food and were both listening to the talk about the nursery school. Mother stood up and bowed to Miss Feng and then to Hai Hsien-sheng, "I have come today representing the clan officially, to invite you to continue the nursery school in our ancestral hall," she said. Miss Feng and Hai Hsien-sheng looked at each other. "Nursery schools are a very good thing," Miss Feng replied. Mei-yu listened to hear whether or not the nursery school would continue. She was tired sitting at the table and began to wriggle. Miss Feng noticed and spoke to them, "Hui-hui, you may take Mei-yu to see the nursery school. If you take toys to the sand pile, be sure to return them when you are through." They arose and together they bowed to Miss Feng and Hai Hsien-sheng. "Thank you for the food," they said together. Hui-hui took Mei-yu's hand and led her toward the nursery school. As they went out she heard Mother say, "Do you think there is any hope for our nursery school?" but she didn't hear the answer.

There were lots and lots of toys in the nursery school, many more

than Mei-yu had ever seen before. They got the wooden bowls and spoons and played in the sand pile under the cedar tree. Then they stood up on the big stone ledge and sang nursery songs. Hui-hui knew all the same songs she did. "Go, go go, go, go go," and the airplane song. Then Mother called her to return to Outside-Grandmother's. Miss Feng and Hai Hsien-sheng walked with them. At the inner gate Mother bowed politely and urged Miss Feng and Hai Hsien-sheng to return but they politely escorted her and Mother on to the outer gate. When they were out on the sidewalk, Mother again urged them not to escort her and Mei-yu any further. "Thank you, thank you," Mei-yu and mother said. Then Miss Feng and Hai Hsien-sheng said "Good-bye" and "Walk slowly." Hui-hui and her mother went toward their home which was outside the South Gate, while Mei-yu and Mother went toward Outside-Grandmother's home which was outside the North Gate. Mei-yu could hardly wait until she got home to tell Mei-lu and Mei-shou about all the things she had seen and done.

#### TROUBLE OVER DOLLS

Mei-yu was playing with Hsiao-hung in her courtyard. They were playing with their cloth dolls which their mothers had made by the pattern the college girls had given them at China New Year time. Really it was Grandmother who had made Mei-yu's doll but Hsiao-hung's mother had made hers. "My baby is hungry, I'll feed her some sweet potato," said Hsiao-hung. She ran into her house and brought out a boiled sweet potato which she broke in half. She gave one half of it to Mei-yu and started to eat the other half. Hsiao-hung chewed her sweet potato, and took part of it from her mouth to feed to her doll, just as mothers fed babies. Mei-yu took bites of hers and swallowed what she chewed. "I feed my baby mother's milk," she stated, holding her doll against her breast. Kuo-yung came from his house. He saw the girls eating sweet potato and playing mother to their dolls. "I'll be the father," he said snatching at the unfinished end of Mei-yu's sweet potato but Mei-yu held it. "Give it to me. I'm the father," he said angrily. Pulling at the sweet potato with one hand, he hit Mei-yu with his other fist. Mei-yu released the sweet potato and ran into Hsiao-hung's doorway. He followed and continued to hit her. "Fathers don't hit mothers," Mei-yu told him. "They do too," he said. "My father

beats my mother. He's going to beat her to death," he stated in the same angry tones he had heard his father use. "The teacher doesn't like us to hit each other," Mei-yu told him. Hsiao-hung had moved into her doorway as Kuo-yung continued to hit Mei-yu. She went inside and reappeared with another sweet potato which she gave to Kuo-yung saying, "You are the father, so I brought you the biggest sweet potato." Kuo-yung stopped hitting Mei-yu and started to eat his sweet potato. "Little friends, please eat," said Mei-yu in the teacher's voice. They all ate their sweet potatoes. The girls still held their dolls.

Just as they had finished eating, Kuo-yung's father came out of his house looking very angry. When he saw the children playing happily, he yelled out, "Kuo-yung, stop playing with those dolls! The elders do not approve of these spirit dolls," he said snatching the dolls from the hands of the two girls. He started back toward his house with the dolls. Hsiao-hung began to cry, and called her grandmother, who immediately appeared. She had heard the angry words of Kuo-yung's father. "Why do you take the child's toy, Ling Hsiang-teng?" she inquired mildly. "These spirit dolls must be destroyed, the elders say so. I have taught Kuo-yung's mother not to disobey the elders," he boasted. "I'll burn these dolls and purge the place of these evil spirits," he said virtuously, as he stalked out of the courtyard carrying the dolls with him. Kuo-yung went with him. Hsiao-hung's grandmother comforted her. "Come inside and play with Grandmother," she said to Hsiao-hung. "Mei-yu, you had better go home and tell your grandmother about your doll. Tell her I will come to see her later," she said.

Mei-yu found her grandmother in the flower-garden pruning her flowers. Mei-yu was still crying when she got home. She told Grandmother about Kuo-yung's father taking her doll. Grandmother's eyes snapped "*Ai ya*," she exclaimed. "Never mind, here's a flower for you, Mei-yu," she said tucking a red pomegranate flower into Mei-yu's hair. "You help Grandmother pick the yellow leaves from the tea trees," she said. After Mei-yu picked a few yellow leaves from the tea plant, she wandered to the gardenia and traced her fingers around their smooth glossy leaves. She told Grandmother more of her experiences, as she played with the leaves. "Kuo-yung played father and he hit me. I told him the father didn't hit the mother," she said. "That one!" exclaimed Grand-



mother. "Did anyone in this neighborhood sleep after he came home last night!" Mother came home and they went into the house. Grandmother told Mother about the dolls. "There's nothing to do about it," Mother said. "He has a bad disposition and is in an evil mood today. He has just used that old superstition to show his clan authority," she sighed as she finished. "Mei-yu, we will have some of my five-nut gruel," said Grandmother, and called Liu-ma to prepare it for them.

#### ATTENDING PARENTS' MEETING

Mei-yu had come to parents' meeting with Mother. Hsiao-hung had come with her mother and Kuo-yung and Ch'uan-wei had come with their mothers. In fact each nursery school child had come with his mother and each had brought his own little stool. Mei-yu always left hers in Teacher's room, since they had plenty more at home. As they arrived, each child placed his stool exactly in front of his mother, who sat on a big bench ready for the meeting. Chi-kwang's mother and Ch'uan-wei's mother shelled corn while the people were arriving. They would stop when the meeting began. Mei-yu sat very straight and orderly for this was the parents' meeting and if you weren't good, you couldn't stay. The program was written in big clear characters and hung on the post. Mei-yu had watched the teacher write it. She had climbed up on a chair and watched the teacher's hand which she held so gracefully with the big brush pen in it. Mei-yu liked to watch the teacher write with the fountain pen which was a red one, but it was nicer to see her write with the brush pen. She could only recognize a few characters but she knew the Ling character which was their own name. She could tell it now, as she tipped her head back and looked up at it. Her mother was the chairman of the meeting, and her name was right there at the beginning. Teacher had read the whole program to her. There it was:

Chairman . . . . .	Mrs. Ling
Open the Meeting	
Singing . . . . .	Nursery School Children and Parents
Lecture . . . . .	Mrs. Teng, the Midwife
Food Demonstration . . . . .	College Student
Games . . . . .	The Teacher
Memory Verse . . . . .	Miss Feng
Close the Meeting	



The program looked so pretty written on the thin white paper with the little red border pasted across the top and bottom of it. Mei-yu called Chi-kwang to look at it. She showed him her mother's name at the top. Chi-kwang and Mei-yu pulled one of the big benches over by the post and climbed up to look at the program more closely. He ran his finger along the lower edge of the red border and talked about how pretty it was. They climbed down and went back to their rightful places. Mei-yu told Chi-kwang and Hsiao-hung about the food demonstration which they would have. She had seen the college student preparing the food for it in the teacher's kitchen. Teacher had gone to her house to get a potato and they had some brought from the basket. "She got a head of green leafy vegetable from our house," Chi-kwang told them. "And a fresh tender ear of our corn from our house," Hsiao-hung said.

When the mothers were seated in a semicircle, the bell rang. The nursery school children went to their stools in front of their mothers, one mother pulled the big bench back into place from its position beside the post, the fathers came in and stood around at the back, leaned against posts, or squatted on the hay. They stopped smoking their little slender bamboo pipes ready for the meeting. Knocking the ash from the tiny brass bowl, Chi-kwang's father stuck his pipe into the collar of his blouse where it would be handy. Kuo-yung's father knocked his pipe against the post where he was leaning and then anchored it to the same cord on his blouse button which held his embroidered tobacco bag, while Hsiao-hung's father tucked his pipe into his waist cord. When all were ready, Mei-yu's mother stood up. "The meeting will open," she announced formally and bowed to all the people. Mei-yu and the children sat very still for this was the parents' meeting. The next number was singing. Mei-yu's mother knew all the songs. She asked the parents to sing with the children. Chi-kwang's father and mother knew all the songs and did not fear to sing out. Hsiao-hung's mother and father knew them and sang but would not do the motions as Mother did. Kuo-yung's mother knew the songs but tucked her head down when she sang and though Kuo-yung's father sang, he got red in the face. The others didn't sing at all. Ch'uan-wei's mother knew the songs and sang with Mei-yu and Ch'uan-wei when they played inside her house, but she wouldn't sing at the meetings. Mei-yu's father wasn't at the meeting today. He had gone to Kien Yang to

represent Mother at an Educational Bureau meeting because Mother had to preside at the parents' meeting today. Father liked to come to the parents' meetings. "We can learn much at the parents' meetings. I will go to town while you attend the meeting here," he had said to Mother.

After they had sung three songs, Mrs. Teng gave the lecture on the problem of nursing children. "How many people here still feed your own milk to your nursery school children?" she asked. Chi-kwang's mother held up her hand and Kuo-yung's mother nodded her head. After that Mei-yu hadn't listened. She edged her stool over a little nearer to Chi-kwang and pulled out of her pocket the pretty stones she had found. She showed them to Chi-kwang very quietly. When Kuo-yung's mother spoke out very loudly, she noticed again. "But it makes them strong to feed them from the breast till they go to school," she asserted. Mrs. Teng nodded her head. "That is our old Chinese idea but the new way is better," she replied. "Just look at my own children; my Hsiao-ling is two and a half years old. When she was not yet one year old, I began to give her vegetables, and cereal and twice a week some egg, and every day bean milk and she is very strong. But you must give them soft foods, they can't eat hard food as you fathers do," she said and sat down. Kuo-yung was pulling at his mother's breasts when Mrs. Teng spoke again and stopped when everyone looked at him. "Just look at your flabby breasts; do you think they still have milk in them?" she asked. "What did I tell you!" exclaimed Hwang Ta-sao. "See how fat my Hsiao-hung is since she stopped nursing and began to eat her vegetables and cereal!" she observed with pride. "How bothersome it would be to make extra soft food for a child!" exclaimed one mother. "I could easily prepare Chi-kwang's along with Old Grandfather's, but he won't eat the other food, he only wants my milk," his mother observed. "Give him the vegetables and cereals first, and feed him from the breast afterwards. Presently he won't want the milk at all," Mrs. Teng advised.

Ch'uan-wei's mother spoke up, "But we don't have any vegetables, we only have pepper sauce with our cracked corn gruel." Mrs. Teng stood up again. "How many here have vegetable gardens?" she asked. No one put up a hand or spoke. Finally Hsiao-hung's father stood up and bowing said, "Teacher, we don't grow vegetables here in Wu Chia Hua Yuan. The town market is near.

We put all our land to big crops like sugar cane, sweet potatoes, corn and in the fall, peas." He sat down. The college student stood up. "That is true. I went all over the place looking for vegetables for the food demonstration and most of the vegetables came from the town market. Many vegetables which the children need must be procured from outside." She sat down. "That is a problem you fathers must solve. Whoever heard of buying vegetables for daily use!" exclaimed Mrs. Teng. Fathers and mothers shook their heads. "No, we only buy vegetables when we have feasts, just eat pepper sauce and cereal for every day," said Kuo-yung's father. Miss Feng stood and asked, "Could you plant a little vegetable garden on one of your plots near the wall so the women could tend them and pick the vegetables?" Chi-kwang's father replied, "I could plant a small plot on the slope below our house but it is very poor land and won't grow much." Hsiao-hung's grandmother spoke out, "All you have to do is to plant, Heaven does the rest. I have always said we should grow our own vegetables as they did here when I was a girl. We don't even have a squash vine growing here now!" Mei-yu's mother spoke up, "We could plant part of our flower garden to vegetables," she said. Hsiao-hung's father stood up. "We will plant our small plot just outside the wall to vegetables so that Hsiao-hung's mother will have vegetables to cook," he announced and sat down. Then Kuo-yung's father and other fathers and mothers began to make plans for a vegetable garden. Mrs. Teng stood again and said, "It is now the last of August and time for the fall and winter planting of vegetables. If you need seed, go to the Agricultural Bureau in Kien Yang. I, personally, will speak to the secretary and ask him to prepare seeds for you."

The college student and teacher brought in the food demonstration and placed it on the central table. Mei-yu sniffed and stood up so she could see the foods better. Chi-kwang stood up, and Kuo-yung, and they all moved closely in to the table. "Slowly, slowly," said the teacher. "Sit down and wait until the college student gives her lecture." The college student came and stood beside the table. She took up the dish with the corn in it, and began to sing a nursery school song. The children simultaneously rose and sang with her, doing the motions at the same time:

"How pretty is the yellow corn!

Who will buy my pretty yellow corn?"



Then she lifted the green leafy vegetable and they all sang:

"How pretty are the big green leaves!  
Who will buy my big green leaves?"

Mei-yu and all of the nursery school children sat down again. The college student talked to the parents. "Why do we need different kinds of food?" she asked. When she had explained some more, she asked, "Who would like to eat some of these good things? Only the nursery school pupils may have this privilege," she added. Mei-yu immediately went up to the table to get some of the good things to eat. They smelled good. Hsiao-hung got there at the same time she did. The teacher gave them each a bowl and they began to eat the food from them. Chi-kwang and Kuo-yung came up and wanted some too, then finally Ch'uan-wei's mother allowed him to go and get a bowl. Chi-kwang's mother exclaimed, "*Ai ya*, he won't eat at home!" After the bowls were emptied, they laid the chopsticks neatly on the table and the college student took the dishes to the kitchen.

The teacher stood by the table and asked, "Shall we play a new game? It is called the Vegetable Game and is very simple. I will give each of you a vegetable name; one will be named string bean, another squash, another corn, and so on. Then I will tell a story. When you hear your name in the story, you shall stand right where you are, and turn yourself about once and sit down. Do you understand? Would you like to play it?" she asked. Hsiao-hung's mother spoke out and said, "Teacher, let the children play the game and we will watch, we are too old to play." "But this is a game which all can play. Mothers and fathers, too. It is very easy," the teacher replied. Chi-kwang's father then stood up and bowed politely to the teacher and said, "Teacher, please excuse us. We like new style ways but the elders think it is unseemly for fathers and mothers to play games like children. Please excuse us." He sat down. "All right, the children and the college students will play the game," the teacher answered. Fathers and mothers laughed merrily as they saw the children and the college students stand up and turn around and sit down when their names were called in the story. They even joined in, and called Chi-kwang String Bean for a name, and Kuo-yung Little Squash.

"Now we will learn a lesson," said Miss Feng, after the game



was over. "I will teach you a verse from our Scriptures. If you wish to learn it you may repeat it after me. It is:

'We are co-workers with God.'

Mei-yu and Mother and all the children and all the fathers and mothers said it over together, just like school. When they had said it a few times, Miss Feng inquired, "Do you know what it means?" She continued, "It means just what Hsiao-hung's grandmother said a little while ago. It means that you fathers plant the seeds in the ground, and Heaven sends the rain and sunshine to make them grow. When the vegetables are grown big enough to eat, the mothers must select the right food and cook it well, so that the children can grow strong and big. That is the way that fathers and mothers work together with Heaven so that Mei-yu and Chi-kwang and all these little children can be healthy." Hsiao-hung's grandmother nodded her head vigorously. "Heaven sends the rain and sunshine but we must work too," she reiterated. Then Mother stood up and bowed politely and said, "Thank you for coming to the meeting." Then she bowed again and announced, "The meeting is closed."

#### PREPARING FOR THE PROGRAM

The last day of school had come. Mei-yu had heard Mother talking about it for a long time. She had heard the parents talk about it at their meeting. Each family was to have one person tell what they had learned during the summer. "Your father will wish to speak for us," Mother had said to Mei-yu. "He approves of the new education which makes provision for little children and for girls." Mei-yu had gone to play with Hsiao-hung one day. Her grandmother was telling Hsiao-hung's mother what she planned to say at the last day of school. "I shall tell them how Hsiao-hung was always waking up in the night to nurse and cry and awaken all of us before you weaned her," Hsiao-hung's grandmother had said. "I shall also tell them that you have far more time to get your work done since you weaned the child," she continued emphatically. "Each one is to speak for one minute, my mother said," Mei-yu had interposed. Hsiao-hung's grandmother had laughed. "Imagine me making a speech!" One day, Chi-kwang's mother had come to school to practice her speech for the last day of school, but Mei-yu and Chi-kwang were busy playing and hadn't listened to what she

said. Chi-kwang told her that he didn't eat his mother's milk any more, but ate part of Grandfather's food. He liked to eat with Grandfather.

Mei-fu and Chi-kwang's sister were in the drama which the older brothers and sisters were going to do for the last day of school. Mei-fu often went to the theater-hall to practice for it and played there while Mei-fu practiced.

#### PARTICIPATING IN THE FUNERAL CEREMONY

Everything was all ready for the last day of school, and then Greatest Ancestral Grandmother died. She was very, very old. Mei-yu hadn't known her very well. She and her sisters always stopped to bow politely to the old Old One when they went past her door in the warm weather. People from all the ten branches of the clan came for the funeral, for she was the very greatest of all the elders in all the ten branches. Her big casket was placed in the ten-branch ancestral worship hall. Candles were lighted and incense burned. It was very exciting. Mei-yu and Chi-kwang and Mother and Mei-fu and Grandmother and Father—everybody—had worn mourning garments for several days. Mei-yu liked the way the long streamers of unbleached cotton were draped down her back, though it was hot to have that turban wound about her head in the mid-August weather. School stopped and everyone played and talked and ate the rich funeral foods. Twice each day, when Mother and Grandmother joined in the processions around their settlement, Mei-yu went too. When they went to the other houses outside the wall, she and Mother didn't go, but Father went to all of them. When the casket was finally taken from the ancestral worship hall, and the long line was formed to march to the cemetery, Mei-yu walked with Mother and Grandmother and her hand held the same long white cloth streamer attached to the casket which they held. When they reached the big banyan tree, Grandmother felt too tired to walk farther, and Mei-yu stayed behind with her. "In the olden days we would have had sedan chairs for women and children to go to the cemetery, but in these days of high prices, the clan cannot afford it even for the greatest ancestor," Grandmother lamented, as they stood watching the procession as it went down the path toward the cemetery.

## CLOSING THE NURSERY SCHOOL

Mei-yu had almost forgotten about the last day of school in the excitement of the funeral. The only difference from parents' meeting was that there were more people and that the meeting was held in the theater-hall. Visitors came from Kien Yang as for the parents' meeting. When the nursery school children sang, they had to walk onto the high platform, and she could look down at the folks sitting in the paved courtyard. Chi-kwang's mother spoke nicely and wasn't afraid. She told how she cooked the food for Chi-kwang when she made Grandfather's food and how Chi-kwang now ate with his grandfather and didn't nurse any more. "He doesn't run to grab me and cry to be taken up any more," she said. When Kuo-yung's father stood on the platform, he got red in the face and didn't say anything, at first. Everybody laughed and Mei-yu laughed too. "See my big son, Kuo-yung," he said and pointed down at the child. "My big son wouldn't eat his mother's milk any more after he heard Mrs. Teng give the lecture and say it was bad for him. Now, I must buy him vegetables at the market, and I shall plant a vegetable garden so he may eat what he needs. My son has grown from a little baby to a big boy," he finished and sat down. The college students and the children clapped their hands. Mei-yu clapped her hands too and laughed with them all. When it was time for Hsiao-hung's grandmother to speak, she wouldn't go onto the platform but just stood up where she was and said what Mei-yu had heard her practice at home. When the drama came, Mei-yu could not recognize Mei-fu because she was all dressed up.

When the meeting was over, Mei-yu and her sisters and her mother and father went to say good-bye to the teacher and Miss Feng before they left. Miss Feng and Teacher were all packed up ready to go. Mother and Father each thanked them for their work during the summer. When Mother bowed to them, Mei-yu bowed too and said, "Thank you." Chi-kwang's father came in. He bowed to Miss Feng. "Your boat is hired and waiting for you. We are just country folk and don't know how to thank you. Five of the fathers wish to carry your baggage to the boat, and see you safely aboard." Miss Feng answered, "We are unworthy of this sacrifice," and smiled as several fathers came with the carrying poles. They tied the baskets and bundles to the ends of the poles, and each one squat-

ted a little and placed the pole on one shoulder. Then he straightened up and trotted off toward the big gate. Chou Er-sao, who was poor and had helped the college students wash and sweep during the summer, gathered up little articles and placed them carefully in a basket, which she took on her back and started off. The teacher, Miss Feng and the college students put on their big straw hats, and tied the strings under their chins. They bowed to all the mothers who were standing about. "We will go," they said. Mei-yu and her mother walked with them out of the big gate. At the big banyan trees, they bowed to Miss Feng and Teacher and called out, "Walk slowly." Then they stood still and watched them go down the hill. Father allowed Mei-yu's sisters to go to the boat with him when he went to politely escort the teachers. When they had passed the bottom of the path and turned into the sugar cane, Mei-yu and her mother couldn't see them any more, so they went home.



## Chapter 9

### GRANDMOTHER TEACHES BENEVOLENCE

#### GRANDMOTHER SHOWING HER FLOWER GARDEN

"Take a spray with you," said Grandmother breaking a branch from the flowering plum tree. Mei-yu had gone to the gardens with Miss Feng and Hai Hsien-sheng to see the plum blossoms. This was her favorite tree. The blossoms were red like the heart of a water-melon. My, but they were pretty! Then Grandmother had broken such a big spray for Miss Feng that she could hardly carry it home. "You are too generous!" protested Miss Feng. "I see you have the white flowering plum too. I did not know there were so many varieties as you have here!" Hai Hsien-sheng said. "Our white tree hasn't done very well this year; it has few blossoms. That tree over there is pink. It comes later and is the same color as the avenue of flowering plum in the park in Kien Yang," replied Grandmother. "I am only familiar with the pink and the Last Month variety, which is so delicately scented in our province," Miss Feng said. "We have Last Month kind too. Doesn't it smell good though!" Mei-yu exclaimed. Grandmother looked at Mei-yu over her glasses which she had forgotten to remove when she came to the garden. "Oh yes, we have a great deal of the Last Month variety. It blooms early here. You should have come two weeks ago when the whole place was fragrant with it. Those pale yellow blossoms are not much to look at, but nothing is so pervasively fragrant," she said. "Now this red one here hasn't much fragrance but it is the most beautiful to look at. I always think each blossom looks like a butterfly," she continued.

"The water is boiled to make the gruel, Grandmother," said Mei-fu coming to the door. When they were inside, Mei-yu sat on the bench beside Miss Feng. She could see the branch of red flowering plum. It almost filled the whole top of the chest on which the vase was placed. Grandmother got out the jar of nut-gruel mixture, and put one spoonful into each bowl. Liu-ma brought in the kettle of boiling water. Grandmother stirred the gruel into the water herself. Mei-yu danced about. It was hard to wait for Grandmother's gruel. When the gruel was mixed, Mei-fu passed the bowls to the guests, politely offering each bowl with both hands. After the guests were served, she gave a bowl each to Grandmother and Mother, who was nursing the baby, and finally, to Mei-yu. Mei-fu didn't get any. She was a big girl and didn't need it. "It is most delicious; how do you make it? I should like to make some at our house," said Hai Hsien-sheng. "It's too late to make it this year, but I will tell you how and you can do it another year," replied Grandmother, pleased that Hai Hsien-sheng liked it. "It is really very simple," she added. "It is just One, Two, Three. You can't fail to remember," she said holding up her fingers to count one, two, three as she talked.

"1 cup of walnut meats—you can make it as soon as the new walnuts are on the market

2 cups of oil—one each of mutton fat and beef fat

3 cups of glutinous rice

1 cup of sesamum seed

2 cups of whole wheat"

Parch all the grains before grinding them to flour. You may use other grains if you prefer but in the same proportion of one, two, three. Crush the beef and mutton fat—don't use pig fat, it's too heavy for this delicate gruel. When the nuts are pulverized, stir the grain into the melted fats and add the nuts last. Then put into a jar for winter use. If your grains are well parched the mixture will easily keep till spring. One spoonful into a bowl. Boil it if you like but it's all right this way, as you can see," she finished. "It sounds rather expensive and a bother to make," said Miss Feng. "Yes, it requires time but it is very warming to eat in the winter," Grand-

mother defended the expense. "It is too late for you to make this year. I will give you some to take home with you," she said going out to find a basket and paper.

Mother had finished her gruel and buttoned her blouse, for the baby had finished nursing. "Our grandmother likes you very much," she said smiling as she looked at the flowering plum branch. "She will never allow anyone to pick the red flowering plum. Formerly we had seven kinds of flowering plum here. Now, only five are left. The others died from being broken off at flowering time." Grandmother returned with a small basket and a paper. She dipped out a bowlful of the five-nut gruel mixture and wrapped it carefully into a square paper bundle which she placed in a small basket ready to be carried home. She handed it to Hai Hsien-sheng. "I will direct you next fall when you are ready to make the gruel mixture," she promised, as the visitors expressed their thanks and started home.

#### TELLING THE FAMILY HISTORY

It was China New Year and the college students were there. Mrs. Yeh sat talking with Grandmother. "My daughter was a smart girl as you are," Grandmother said. "If she had lived at this time she could have gone to college." Mei-yu looked at Grandmother's eyes. They were very bright and shining. Her voice sounded funny. "Did she learn to read?" asked Mrs. Yeh. "Oh yes, all the women of my family have learned to read. I studied myself beside my brothers with the tutor, when I was the size of Mei-lu, and I have never forgotten. I saw to it that my daughters had a tutor. That was when my husband was an official and it was easily managed." "Was your daughter married with children of her own?" asked Mrs. Yeh. "She was married, but had no children; didn't I show you the writing about her on the guest room wall?" asked Grandmother. "She was only married two years, when her husband died. She hanged herself so as to join his spirit. It was a very noble thing to do," she said. Mei-yu looked at Grandmother again. This time two great tears rolled right down her cheek and she didn't wipe them away. "I have seen the widow's arch erected by the county government, but you still have a daughter living," murmured Mrs. Yeh. "Ah, but this one was never the scholar that the one who died was,"

said Grandmother this time wiping the tears away. "Well, you have great honor since both your son and daughter-in-law are teachers," Mrs. Yeh said smiling happily at Grandmother. "This is my last son. He was born a long time after the other children, and soon afterwards his father died. You know how it is, you can deny nothing to the last one," she said. "He didn't like to study but I saw to it that he had an educated wife. Our family has always led the clan in education. After he was married, his wife encouraged him to study more." Mrs. Yeh laughed merrily. "And so he became a teacher. You are a mother of great wisdom. Mei-fu is already in high school and Mei-yu will grow up and go to Ginling College, as I did," she said this last looking directly at Mei-yu.

"My father always goes to the Education Bureau meetings!" Mei-yu told Mrs. Yeh. Grandmother's eyes twinkled. "My son always represents us when he is at home," she said. "My husband was the most illustrious son this clan has produced in the 217 years it has been in Szechuan Province," she asserted. "Who built the beautiful ancestral hall?" asked Mrs. Yeh. "Oh, those were the glorious days," Grandmother went on to tell about the clan. "When I came here as a young girl to be married, the whole place had been newly decorated. Those flowers in the lattice work of the doors, and the friezes were so fresh and life-like that one expected fragrance to come from them." "They must have been beautiful," said Mrs. Yeh. "Call your sisters, Mei-yu, and invite Hai Hsien-sheng to come in. I will tell Mrs. Yeh about the glorious days of the clan and they may all listen. In those days sedan chairs were provided so that all women and children could go to the cemetery on *Ch'ing Ming*. And what feasts we had with all ten Branches of the Clan eating together!" Mei-yu hurried to call her sisters and find Hai Hsien-sheng. She was afraid Grandmother would tell it all while she was gone.

#### PREPARING FAREWELL GIFTS

Hai Hsien-sheng was going home to see her old folk. Mother and Grandmother had talked for days about what they could give her as a departing gift which would be thoroughly appropriate. "A red satin banner with gold letters telling what she has done for us would be the one suitable gift," said Father. "Of course it would,"



Mother agreed. "But she is leaving by air and may carry only thirty pounds with her and she has already refused a banner from the church because of its weight, Mrs. Teng told me. I especially inquired when I was in Kien Yang the other day." "Furthermore," interjected Grandmother, "You couldn't get a banner for less than three hundred dollars and the satin would be a poor quality in these war times. We wouldn't want that to go to America; it is a rich country and they might look down upon us." Every day they talked about what to give Hai Hsien-sheng as a parting gift. Grandmother turned out everything from all the chests, looking for some antique which would be small enough for her to carry and yet good enough to be sent to rich America. Mei-yu saw everything that Grandmother had in the chests. "She couldn't take the carved wood figure, it is too heavy," Mother said when Grandmother suggested that. Mei-yu liked the *Lao T'ieh Kuei* and didn't want him to go to America.

Suddenly Grandmother and Mother decided. "She likes children's clothing," Mother had said. "The very thing!" exclaimed Grandmother. "I will make baby shoes for her to take back to her native land. I have some small pieces of good-quality satin. I will work as fast as I can and make as many pairs as possible before she goes. You will be busy preparing the final program for her, I will stitch the shoes," she said to Mother. So it was settled. "Make some frogs like our baby's shoes, Grandmother," Mei-yu begged. So Grandmother embroidered the green satin into frog shoes and put red linings into them. They looked like the little frogs in the ponds in the summer. Mei-shou wanted her to make water-buffalo shoes. She was fond of the big water-buffalo which pulled the stone crusher in the sugar house. Grandmother first cut the paper pattern for the water-buffalo, holding the paper up to the light. She trimmed off a little here and there. Made of the brown silk, the shoes looked most natural when the flat shiny bead eyes were sewed on and the horns stuck out exactly like the water-buffalo. Mei-fu got excused from high school and came home for the good-bye program and told about the speech Hai Hsien-sheng had made to their high school. It was a long program, they sang all their school songs for her and said all the Bible verses and sang the church songs. Hai Hsien-sheng was surprised because she didn't know they had

learned Bible verses. Mother, who presided at the meeting, presented the bouquet of chrysanthemums to Hai Hsien-sheng in the new style way. Mei-yu could not sit still another minute after Mother said, "The meeting is closed." She hurried up to the theater platform and took Hai Hsien-sheng's hand, and invited her to go to her house for tea. She wanted to show her the baby shoes. "Don't hurry," Mother admonished smiling. "She must first say good-bye to Chi-kwang's mother and the other guests." When all the people had gone home, Mei-yu led Hai Hsien-sheng straight to Grandmother and Mother followed with the other visitors from Kien Yang. Then, even before the tea was served, Grandmother gave her the baby shoes. Hai Hsien-sheng was so excited she could hardly say thank you and bow to Grandmother. "Those pigs were the hardest to make," Grandmother explained. "I embroidered them and picked them out, and embroidered them and picked them out. At last I went out to the pig pen and studied the pig's eyes and then I could make them. If you want to make pig's eyes, you must look at the pig!" she concluded emphatically. Mei-yu laughed with all the others. Then they drank the tea, and escorted the guests to the big gate. "Take our greetings to your old father and mother," Grandmother said, in parting.

## *Chapter 10*

### CHANGES IN FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

#### THE PRESCHOOL CHILD AND HIS ADULTS

In the two communities studied all children were loved but boys were more desired than girls. This was demonstrated in the kindly treatment of the little child. Food was always given him on request, if the family had it. Grandparents shared their special dishes with him and the men in the sugar house made candy sticks for him. In families where there were no boys, a great point was made of treating the girl as if she were a boy. Members of Mei-yu's family often insisted that girls were just as good as boys and that their girls would be educated as if they were boys, which was quite different from other families in the community.

Even though the children were loved dearly, they often suffered because of ignorance. The old superstition about vaccination held and caused many children to be marred or to die from smallpox. Nursing was prolonged beyond the time when the mother's milk provided enough food for the child. When he nursed, he was not interested in other foods and did not eat enough. Therefore, this seeming love for the child, which prolonged nursing, actually caused him harm.

Children of both communities shared all of life with their parents and adults. If they wanted to work they did so. They would pick a little cotton, pick up sweet potatoes, or go to the sugar cane field to help, but no small child was ever urged to do any work. They also shared in the religion of those about them. Boys, though not girls, participated in the worship before the Ancestral Tablets. Ping-tzu went home with Hua-en from the China New Year party es-

pecially to take part in it, but Mei-yu, a girl, could only stand at the outer gate and look at her father taking part in the elaborate ceremonies of the ten-branch clan and even of their own clan. However, both boys and girls knelt with their parents in the *k'o t'ou* ceremony of reverence to the living elders of the family. Mei-yu went to the inner room with her mother, sisters, and grandmother and joined with them in placing the lighted incense and in making the *k'o t'ou* to the *Kuan Yin*, "who," according to her grandmother, "loves women and children and hears their prayers." Whenever there was Christian family worship, all children shared in it and went with their parents to church in Liu Chia Ho after church services were established there.

Changes came in regard to children during the three years. Boys and girls went to nursery school; there were more boys than girls in the nursery school in both communities. Nursery school practices carried over into the home, where boys as well as girls were encouraged to do things for themselves: to pick themselves up when they fell; to wash their faces themselves; and to dress themselves. Ping-tzu was encouraged to tie his own sandals. Ping-tzu's sisters had a chance to go to school. There was a new emphasis on the child as an individual; four families changed from the old way and kept their girl babies; parents answered the questions of children seriously; and one small child who died was buried with ceremony as an adult might have been.

It was a privilege of wives to take the initiative in the arrangement for the marriage of their children, although the matter was always discussed by all the older members of the family before the engagement was settled. When Chen Shu-chen's father disregarded this custom and not only initiated but completed the arrangements for the engagement and marriage of their daughter, with no consultation whatever with his wife or the family, the women of the community resented this assumption of the mother's privilege by her husband. Big Aunt in Ping-tzu's family began to make proposals to find a wife for Hua-en, just as she had begun the negotiations for her eldest son before the story began. Wang Ta-niang had made the arrangement for her son's engagement in the customary way of proposing the matter to her husband for discussion before a final decision was made.



Harshness of the husband to the wife was so generally accepted that it was not even commented upon unless it exceeded the usual amount entailed in the daily stress and strain of living. In Ling Chia Hua Yuan, the grandmother, who stood by and approved her son's harsh treatment of his wife, was severely criticized. Such treatment was a remnant of earlier times when the power of life and death was in the hands of the head of a family. No woman was allowed to "talk back" to her husband in either community. When a husband spoke angrily to his wife, she could go out to the field to work, or down to the stream to wash clothes while she cooled off. Or she could *ou ch'i* if she were sufficiently angry, refusing to talk or work or eat for hours, days, or an even longer period. Fresh in the memory of all was the woman of the Liu Chia Ho community who had made the last final protest and committed suicide, knowing that her husband and his family would be held responsible. Only one woman in the Liu Chia Ho community disregarded this taboo and the quarrels in that family were loud and long.

Kindness of the husband to his wife was usually looked upon in both communities as indicative of sex interest. When Chung-tzu's father was found at home in the middle of the morning in this farming community, his wife's face got red. Many people in the neighborhood explained Chung-tzu's crying on the basis of over-intimate relations between her father and mother. When he brought gifts from the town market to his wife, they had only one explanation for such attentions. Pao-chen's mother was a different type of woman. When her husband helped her with the work and took an interest in her, people said: "She isn't young any more, why does he do these things?" When the clan head brought gifts to his concubine, that was to be expected, but when Chi-kwang's father carried the basket for his wife, people sighed and said: "He is always kind to her and she isn't a secondary wife."

Courtesy of husbands to wives was becoming acceptable. Kindly men broke down old customs naturally. Hu-tzu's father held the baby while his wife prepared tea for callers and both sat together while visiting with them. Hung-ying's father always inquired of his wife what purchases were wanted before he started to market. Wang Ta-niang's husband deferred to her because she had come from a tribe where women were accustomed to managing affairs

for the family and was astute in business matters. In the other community, when Mei-yu's father returned from a trip to the city and brought a gift for his wife as well as for his mother and daughters, people accepted this as being different, and when he sat down to talk with his wife with no apparent business in hand, it was accepted as "new style."

Sharing between husbands and wives was formerly limited to a few ways approved by these communities. Men and women both went to market, but the men went with other men and the women with other women; it would not look well for a husband and wife to go together. The whole family went to the field to dig sweet potatoes, and even when the children were not there, husband and wife worked together. Chi-kwang's father and mother worked together on the threshing floor, but Eldest Brother's young wife always worked in the field with her mother-in-law. It would not have been proper for so young a woman to work in the field with her husband. People sat together at the table when there was no company as they did in Ping-tzu's home, but Mei-yu's father and mother sat together at the table even when there was company if there were room enough, because they were "new style."

New ways of sharing between husbands and wives were becoming acceptable to the people in both of these places. Chi-kwang's father and mother, who had worked together on the threshing floor, found it natural to work together to clean the ancestral hall space for the nursery school where their child was happy and well cared for while they were at work. Several of the fathers and mothers went together to help carry the baggage of the college girls to the boat and see the girls off when they left at the close of the summer program. Mei-yu's father and mother planned for community enterprises together. They discussed school matters, and planned for the education of their daughters. The old way where one person made the decisions for all was changing in both communities as parents talked and worked together on community projects. They attended the same parents' meeting in order to learn more about their children's activities in the nursery schools, and continued to plan together for them at home. In Liu Chia Ho, husbands and wives went to church together, to the Farm and Home Festival and other new programs in their community.

## OLDER AND YOUNGER GENERATION OF ADULTS

Authority was ceded to the older generation by all other family members in both communities. In most cases obedience was promptly given to any command of the older generation. Mei-yu's mother was an educated woman and principal of the school, but when the old grandmother told her that she must be at the sugar house to watch their interests, she immediately arranged for a substitute at school, changed into a more suitable dress, and started for the sugar house. The older generation had the right to act officially for the family; to keep property intact and increase it; to make plans to continue the family line; and to pass on the cultural heritage to the children and grandchildren. The people of Liu Chia Ho were strong in their approval of the Ch'en and Mam-po families because they had adopted nephews to carry on the family lines. One family in each community had recognized the weakness of the son of the family and arranged that the daughter-in-law should be prepared to assume responsibilities which would ordinarily have been carried by the sons. In the one case, the mother-in-law arranged for the daughter-in-law to learn to read and write so she could manage affairs; and in the other, an educated daughter-in-law was selected and trained to manage the family's affairs. Mei-yu's grandmother assumed authority as she instructed her grandchildren in the family traditions both through the history books and by telling them the stories of the past glories of their family.

Authority was sometimes tempered by expediency. Daughters-in-law were selected from wealthy families in the "becoming rich" families and were frankly deferred to, their advice sought and their work lightened. This frequently entailed discrimination against the daughters-in-law who had come from poor homes. Ping-tzu's grandmother pointedly helped the daughter-in-law from the wealthy home and constantly criticised Ping-tzu's mother, who had come from a home of poverty. Little ways were found to make the favorites happy. Ping-tzu's grandmother sought work which would bring an income for one daughter-in-law to use for herself and children. All grandmothers deferred to their sons and husbands at times in order to gain ends, as when Ping-tzu's grandmother assumed a humble deference to her son to get her garden ploughed.



Authority which was used aggressively was deplored by the people of both communities even though they conceded the right of the older generation to exercise it. It was evidenced in situations where hatred or anger could not be expressed against those causing it. Ping-tzu's grandfather had hated his early poverty and the lack of respect shown him by people of the neighborhood and had expended his piled-up aggression on his family members. He had treated his sons so harshly that the eldest left and did not return, and the other sons moved some distance away from him. His treatment of his wife and daughter-in-law continued to be very harsh until he found an outlet in another way. After he was respected for establishing the school and other activities in his home, he treated his family members less harshly, was openly kind to the school children, and cordial to travellers passing by. The grandmother of the other community, who was notable for her harsh treatment of her daughter-in-law, dared not express her ire against her son, and so mistreated his wife.

Special privileges were granted to all grandparents and elders in both communities. Chicken was regularly bought for Ping-tzu's grandparents and no other adults ate it. Mei-yu's grandmother had cakes, tea, special gruel, and other delicacies which only she could dispense. Chi-kwang's mother made special soft dishes for the toothless old grandfather who in turn sometimes read to her. In fact, all the grandparents had these delicacies. Ping-tzu's grandmother and all the family considered the vegetable garden as her own, and granted her the privilege of dispensing its products, either to the family or as gifts to friends. In the same way, Mei-yu's grandmother tended, controlled, and dispensed the flowers from her garden.

Authority which was accompanied by affection was desired by all of the younger generation. To be treated as a daughter was a desire frequently expressed by most daughters-in-law. They had all married at an early age and looked on the mother-daughter relationship as a happy, carefree one where the mother took full responsibility for the daughter and exercised authority with love. Ping-tzu's Big Aunt and Grandmother chatted happily as they worked together in the garden or gathered with others around the big basket on the porch to sort cotton. Mam-po and her daughter-



in-law talked and laughed together in a most companionable manner. People of Ling Chia Hua Yuan often commented that Hsiao-hung's grandmother treated her mother "just like a daughter," while Mei-yu's grandmother sat down after a visit to relatives in town and with many chuckles recounted experiences to her daughter-in-law.

The elders gradually entrusted family responsibility, and, with it, authority, to the younger generation. Mei-yu's mother had long since taken full authority for planning meals and for ordering goods from the market although Grandmother was consulted as to whether she desired something special when the men went to market. She also managed economic affairs for the family when her husband was away from home. Big Aunt in Ping-tzu's family had taken the same responsibility for planning meals, although Grandmother always helped to prepare them and sometimes took the full responsibility when Big Aunt and Eldest Brother's wife were both especially busy, as in harvest time. Grandfather had long before turned over to his sons the management of all affairs of the family. His second son carried fully the responsibility for buying and selling at the market for the whole clan family, while his fourth son managed and allocated all work. Grandfather was always consulted about large matters, and gave his advice freely, but final decisions rested with the sons. Changes in the relationship between the older and younger generation of adults in the two communities came as democratic procedures of settling problems were established in some families. Instead of authority being vested in the older generation, it was distributed among the family members as young and old, women and men, had opportunity to discuss problems and express an opinion before final decisions were made.

# *Book* II

## THE SERVICE PROGRAM







Mothercraft Institute under the Canadian Mission at Junghsien; the Rural Service Station at Jenshow conducted by Ginling College; and the rural reconstruction work at Hsinlungchang under the auspices of the National Christian Council, all had demonstrated that family life could be improved by providing for the preschool child and his parents. A number of leaders of the West China Conference were satisfied that an intensive experiment should be made in rural reconstruction as a demonstration of the family-centered program and approach to it through the preschool child. They believed that plans and programs which were successful in such an experiment would, with modifications, be useful to others wishing to institute programs of rural reconstruction. And furthermore, they felt the need of such an experiment in which students might find opportunities for training during school days, and where church and community leaders could receive in-service training through observation and participation. Although the majority of the members of the conference did not clearly visualize how these objectives were to be attained, they were all ready to support such demonstrations and await results.

The proposed service-research undertaking was formulated and approved by the Bishop of the area, a committee was appointed by the West China Conference meeting in annual session to draw up a tentative plan, to present a budget, and to recommend personnel for beginning the service research work. This plan was presented and approved by the conference, the budget was passed, and a director appointed to be responsible for inviting the needed personnel and for putting the project into effect. The Executive Board of the West China Conference set up criteria for the selection of the location of the service-research station. They placed the responsibility for recommending that location on a group of specialists including a district superintendent of the church, a district missionary, a district supervisor of women's work, the director under appointment, and a rural church specialist of Nanking Theological Seminary, who had made a comprehensive study of the rural church situation both in Szechuan and other parts of China. They financed the necessary travel for this group of specialists, accepted their recommendations and continued to act as an advisory board for the Kien Yang Christian Rural Service Station throughout the undertaking.

The Central Conference of the Methodist Church, a body composed of the ten Annual Conferences in China, approved the policy of each Conference establishing one or more such experimental stations for family-centered rural reconstruction work. They further approved the West China Conference's making the first demonstration, with the stipulation that the plans and program should be such as to serve as a pattern for other conferences.

Funds for the service program were granted from the West China Conference to cover the repair of building for residence of the staff of the station, visitors and participators in the program, and the first year current budget. A permanent budget for this service program depended on the approval of the mission board. The Board of Foreign Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church with headquarters in New York, New York, approved the plan presented by the West China Conference and the Central China Conference and granted their request for funds to cover the budget. They gave assurance that such a budget might be expected to be available for a period of five years, depending on the success of the project and funds in hand to cover such askings.

## Chapter 2

## BASES FOR THE SELECTION OF THE LOCATION

### REPRESENTATIVE OF RURAL AREAS

Kien Yang, Szechuan, was selected as the location for the station because it satisfied most of the requirements set down by the planning group and approved by the Conference. The station and rural community centers were, of necessity, widely representative of the province so that the results might be significant for persons wishing to apply and adapt the methods in other areas. The station was, therefore, located in a "rural city" which was surrounded by rural communities. The people of this city had their roots in the country. Many of them owned land nearby. Their relatives lived on farms and dropped in to see them twice a week on market days and town and country people visited back and forth for weddings, funerals, and other festivals. The town folk often chose strong country girls as wives for their sons, and sometimes married their daughters into rural families. Merchants catered to rural people, stocking articles desired by them, and depended on the farmers for their daily food brought in to the market. Tax bureaus dealt with farmers, in pre-war days collecting the heavy sugar tax in cash; and during the war gathering in the land tax, in rice. The greater part of the enrollment in the high schools were boys and girls from the county *Pao Chia* schools.

The two rural centers selected, Liu Chia Ho and Ling Chia Hua Yuan, were located in the open country rather than in small towns, where most of the families conducted shops. Since three-fourths of the people of this province were farmers who lived in the open

country, these communities were typical of the large majority. At the same time, these settlements resembled the small village of other parts of China more than the small commercial Szechuan towns did.

#### FRIENDLY TO CHURCH MEMBERS

Since this was a church-sponsored program, one important basis of choice was that the church members where the station was to be located should have a good reputation. This would insure that the local people would be friendly toward a Christian-sponsored enterprise. The people of the rural centers, furthermore, should have sufficient interest in the project to provide space for the work. Kien Yang and the rural centers selected, satisfied these requirements. There were only four Christian families resident in the city; all of them were merchants, and all were respected citizens. Contacts with one of the rural centers were made through one of these church families, and in each community staff residence and space for the program were provided in homes or ancestral halls.

The church and school properties at Kien Yang were large enough to allow for all needs. The church property was adequate to house the staff and the regular program of work. Ten or more students could live there with comfort for vacation work, and twenty or thirty could be crowded in for institutes or training conferences. The school buildings were available at certain fixed intervals to house special institutes, workshops, or conferences.

#### ADEQUATE FOR DEMONSTRATION AND EXTENSION

One final consideration in the selection of the rural centers was that they should have a compact group of families where the project could be demonstrated, and at the same time a wider community immediately surrounding them to which the program could be extended. Several communities were investigated where the families of rural areas were isolated, living some distance apart with no cluster of homes suitable for demonstration work. These were rejected. Liu Chia Ho, in contrast, was a densely populated area. Within a half mile of the rural center six, ten, fifteen, thirty-two, and thirty-five families respectively lived in groups together, and also many isolated families. These were conveniently reached without waste of effort on the part of the staff, and they easily influenced



one another because of their proximity. If an arbitrary circle with a five-mile radius were drawn with Liu Chia Ho as the center, eight hundred families would fall within its boundaries. This provided a sufficient field for extension work.

The cluster of families which constituted Ling Chia Hua Yuan had forty-two families inside its settlement walls. Another fifteen families lived an eighth of a mile away and three hundred more within two miles of this settlement. The U-tract of land between the river and mountains on which they were situated was two by four miles in size and had a population of eight hundred families. This community, consequently, provided both a group for intensive work and an adequate extension group within easy walking distance of the center.

#### EXCERPT FROM ORIGINAL PLAN

##### PROPOSED METHODIST RURAL SERVICE STATION

Note: This plan was worked out by the committee appointed by the West China Conference, and accepted by that body and by the Central Conference in the spring of 1941. The local program was decided upon by a group consisting of the Chengtu District leaders and the local people in consultation together in the local place.

#### Location

Kien Yang is a hsien city located one hundred and forty li or about fifty miles from Chengtu on the motor road from Chengtu to Chungking. The trip requires three hours by bus or one day overland from Chengtu. It is situated on the bank of one of the four big rivers of Szechuan, surrounded by rolling hills. It is an old city with a leisurely market-town atmosphere. Eight li to the north is the town of Shih Ch'iao, which is the real commercial center for the city. It has three banks, branches of Chengtu and Kien Yang shops, and several other commercial enterprises. Shipping on the river seems to be responsible for this being a bustling growing town.

#### Institutions

1. The Hsien Seat of Government, the Hsien Cheng Fu, is located two li from the city, to avoid air raids.
2. The Hsien Health Bureau, which is situated on the river bank at the edge of the city near the bus station, has two doctors, two men and one woman nurse, and one midwife.

3. The Hsien Boys' Senior Middle School is at the edge of the city. The Junior Middle School for both boys and girls is located in Shih Ch'iao. Six lower and higher primary schools include one for girls conducted by the Methodist Church.
4. A War Orphanage with three hundred children is across the river from the southeast corner of the city.
5. The Agriculture Extension Bureau is located at the corner of the city.
6. Other organizations include the Shang Hui (Commercial Club), the Tang Pu, and the Woman's Organization of the New Life Movement.

### Population

Kien Yang County is estimated at 2,000,000.

Kien Yang City is estimated at 20,000.

The decimation of Szechuan, 600 years ago, has left few native Szechuanese. The people come from varying provincial backgrounds; Hupeh, Kiangsi, Canton, Kwangsi, Shansi, Shensi, and Fukien are those which predominate.

### Economic Life

1. The products consist of sugar cane, cotton, and oranges which produce more than is consumed locally.
2. One home industry reported is spinning for supplemental cash. Weaving is only for family consumption. A former branch of the Economic Council Cross-stitch industry has been suspended.
3. Land tenure in the larger Kang Chia Ho area, that is within a fifteen to twenty mile radius, is as follows:
  - One-third of the families own their land.
  - One-third of the families own half the land they till.
  - One-third of the families own no land.This is a little higher than the average for the province.
4. Education, which is one index of the economic life of the people, is high in town and low in the rural areas.

### The Church

1. The city church membership is composed largely of those who live in the country. Twenty members, from four families all of whom belong to the church, have among them a few warm-hearted volunteer women church workers. There has been no resident pastor for a few years, the District Superintendent having carried the responsibility with his itinerant schedule.

2. The rural membership has the largest group living fifteen li to the west of the city. Twenty men and one woman members are scattered in three *Hsiang*. The largest single number are to be found in the midst of a homogeneous group of thirty-seven families, at Liu Chia Ho.
3. Shih Ch'iao, eight li from Kien Yang, has twelve Christian families, and for the most part all members of each family belong to the church.
4. Pa Fu Ch'en, seventy li from Kien Yang, has a thriving rural church community in the open country.

#### Attitude of People toward the Church

1. Christian leaders are active in community organizations. The principal of the Methodist Girl's School is the Chairman of the Woman's Organization of the New Life Movement. In Kang Chia Ho, the Chairman, Secretary, and Treasurer of the Credit Cooperative are Christian men.
2. The Christian families of the town are persons of good reputation and active in community life.
3. The church congregation has dwindled to almost nothing. It seems to be mere indifference on their part and corresponding indifference on the part of the town to the church.
4. The Methodist school has a smaller enrollment year by year, but participates in all activities with other schools of the city.

## Chapter 3

## DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROGRAM

### COMMON ELEMENTS AND DIFFERENCES

There were enough common elements in the two communities to give assurance that the service program, which had satisfying results here, would be widely applicable throughout rural China. Both communities were about the same size geographically and had the same population. Both were composed of farmers living on their own land and renting some extra land to farm. The daily activities, the food, and the clothing of the people of both communities were very much the same. The predominating religion in both communities consisted of worship of the ancestors and a feeling that the ancestral spirits were in their midst, interested in and concerned about the details of their daily lives. Some Taoist practices were prevalent, and a few ardent Buddhists were found in each of the communities. There were some persons in each community with open minds and progressive ideas, who desired the opportunities made available by the Christian Rural Service Station.

Differences in the two communities were those frequently found among rural communities within and without the province. Adjustments to these differences would indicate how adaptations of the program could be made to other differences elsewhere. Cash from farm crops was invested in more land in Liu Chia Ho and in city shops in Ling Chia Hua Yuan. Economic differences were seen in the mud walls, thatched roofs, and hard earthen floors of the houses in the former community in contrast to the tile roofs, board floors, whitewashed walls, carved and painted friezes and posts of the latter settlement. Authority in Liu Chia Ho was vested in the *Pao*



*Chang*, the civic head elected biennially by the hundred families whom he served, and for whom he was responsible to the county government. In Liang Chia Hua Yuan, it was divided (and sometimes in conflict) between the *Pao Chang* and the clan head and elders. Educational backgrounds differed in the two communities, although a majority of adults in both were illiterate. In Liu Chia Ho, most of the men and all but three of the women and one girl were illiterate. There was no school in the community at the opening of the project. In Ling Chia Hua Yuan, most of the men were literate and most of the women illiterate. Many of the men and two women had high scholastic training. There was a primary school in which most of the children of school age were enrolled. Religious ceremonies were very simple in the former and very elaborate in the latter place. A number of individuals in Liu Chia Ho were church members and all the people were friendly and cooperative with the leaders of the Christian project at the beginning of the enterprise. In Ling Chia Hua Yuan, on the contrary, there were no church members, many of the people were suspicious, and some were openly antagonistic to the Christian project.

Characteristics common to the two communities allowed for developing a service program widely applicable to rural people of the province. The differences between them with the resulting differences in the service program provided opportunities for adaptations that might be suitable in the service program everywhere.

The program of service was developed in response to the needs of people. These needs fell into four categories:

Apparent needs which involved conditions the people were ready to change.

Apparent needs which involved conditions the people were not ready to change or thought could not be changed.

Vaguely realized needs about which they could do nothing until they understood them.

Strategic needs, which, if supplied, permitted far reaching and permanent change.

Working definitions of these categories of need are presented in terms of illustrations. For example, literacy was an apparent need which involved conditions the people were ready to change. Like all Chinese, these people had the age-old desire to learn to read.

Next to food and very simple clothing, this need was considered imperative. The people in these two rural communities were willing to try to change conditions so that children and adults might have the opportunity to become literate.

An apparent health need was vaccination for smallpox, but the people were not ready to avail themselves of this protection because of the old superstition against vaccinating in the "Year of the Cow" in the Chinese zodiac, since the serum was made from the cow. Another recognized need was for adequate care for young children while mothers and fathers worked in the fields, but the people thought they could do nothing about this. They tied the young baby to the bed, and allowed the two- and three-year-olds to play about in the house or yard while the parents were away. The adults agreed this condition should be changed but saw no way to make the change.

There was a vaguely realized need for order about which the families could do nothing until they understood what was disturbing them. A constant disorder inside and outside of the house in some families made many people unhappy and uncomfortable without their knowing why. Farm implements were dropped anywhere in the courtyard, buckets were set down after men fed the pigs, benches were obviously out of place, and refuse of various sorts was piled about. All of these objects had to be walked around. This was the more irritating because in the Chinese living quarters each object has its defined location. Each family had seen order in some home but did not realize that they desired it and felt irked for lack of it. These conditions could be changed and frequently were, as soon as people were aware of the nature of the need. Another need was for more adequate diet for the young child. Some young children were fretful and constantly annoyed their elders; others were considered "good" because they sat quietly for long periods. Both of these conditions were largely due to malnutrition but nothing could be done about providing a more adequate diet until the parents recognized both the fretfulness and the inaction as nutritional problems. Another vaguely realized need was that of Chinese women for status, a feeling of importance as individuals rather than of significance only as the mothers of sons. When any one of these women became an assistant teacher in the nursery school or took a responsible role in some part of a program, the satisfaction was ob-

vious. This need for improved status of women was fundamental in the development of leadership in the service program.

A strategic need which, if supplied, permitted far-reaching and permanent change was the need for more social intercourse between families. Most adult family members worked in the family field. Their men went to market and there talked and associated with others but women were not acquainted with persons who lived no farther away than a sixteenth of a mile. New ideas could not come from such isolation. There was no hope of having an educational and social program for a community until families knew each other and were willing to work together. It was essential to relieve the monotony of existence and bring about inter-family relationships within the neighborhood in order to establish a cooperative and self-supporting program of community improvement.

#### THE PROGRAM ESTABLISHED

In response to these needs, the service program was developed in both communities along four lines; children's educational work, adult literacy work, nursery school and parent education, and Christian nurture. The four types of service began at different times in the two communities as different needs emerged and there were facilities available to meet them. They continued at a different tempo and for different lengths of time because of differences in staff and inherent differences in the two communities. There was a resident field worker in Liu Chia Ho throughout the period of this study. This made possible a continuity of work which could not be maintained in the other community where a staff member and college students lived for a few months at a time. During the interim between these periods of residence, the work was sustained by weekly visits of a staff member who stayed for one or two days. Several inherent differences in the two communities made for differences in the initial program and its development. There was no primary school in Liu Chia Ho such as was well established in Ling Chia Hua Yuan. There was eager and cordial cooperation from the people in the first community but much antagonism had to be overcome during the first year in the second community; several men and one woman were active leaders in the first community, in contrast to the one able woman and the friendly clan head who was absent almost all the day time in the second community. Eighty



families in each community had some apparent need for which they desired help through one or more of these four avenues of service. Two hundred other families had more vaguely realized the strategic needs upon which were built the wider educational or recreational program, including the observation of festivals, such as the Children's Festival, Farm and Home Week, Christmas, and China New Year.

*Children's educational work* was based upon such an apparent need that it was warmly supported from the beginning. It consisted of supplementary school and 4H Club work for children, and developed differently in the two communities. Liu Chia Ho had no *Pao Chia* primary school and only four partially literate children of school age, therefore a first step in developing the program in that center was to provide a half-day literacy school for children. This was not needed in Ling Chi Hua Yuan, where eight children were enrolled in the *Pao Chia* school, which was open to all who wished to attend. The 4H Club program also differed in the two communities. In Liu Chia Ho, one club was organized which included both boys and girls in its membership. They developed a program to include citizenship training, an economic project of goat raising for boys and clothing for girls, pre-parental training with laboratory work in the home, and Christian nurture with practice in leading worship in the club meetings. In Ling Chia Hua Yuan, two clubs were eventually organized; one with a mixed membership from the *Pao Chia* school, and later, one for boys only from the classics school. Both of them included the government required citizenship training such as dispensing war information, learning to preside at meetings, and taking responsibility for public buildings. Two years after the organization began, when they were ready for it, Christian nurture was included. The clubs developed and continued differently, largely because of a difference in the leadership which was available from the Rural Service Station. At the beginning of the third year, one Christian young man, who had received training as leader of the local youth group, took responsibility for leading the 4H Club in Liu Chia Ho.

*Adult literacy work* was a recognized need to some of the people of both communities, since a majority of adults in each were illiterate. In Liu Chia Ho, only a few men and boys were literate, one woman and two girls partially so, but there was general support



of the literacy program. In Ling Chia Hua Yuan, most men, two women, and over half of the boys and girls of school age were literate but many of the elders opposed literacy for women. The adult literacy program in both communities included classes for reading and writing, health education, and Christian nurture, and aimed to develop a leadership to continue and expand the work.

In Liu Chia Ho, three classes were organized: one for mothers of nursery school children, with one boy in it, a night class for older boys and girls, and during the first summer a class for young married women. There was only one class organized in Ling Chia Hua Yuan, which was for women and girls. It was closed by the elders, started again, stopped for want of a sponsor, and begun again. Two of the three classes in the former community were still continuing at the close of the study. Some boys and girls had entered the primary school, and two women had become teachers of literacy classes, but no leadership was developed in the second community.

*The nursery school* in both communities developed in response to a need which was apparent to the people but which they had formerly thought they could do nothing about. Inadequate care for the preschool child while fathers and mothers worked in the field was recognized by the parents in both communities. Some parents in Ling Chia Hua Yuan left their children because they thought it was "modern" and they wanted to keep abreast of new movements.

The nursery school was planned for the children from two to five years to establish routines, develop independence, explore their environment, and expand their relationships through free play and directed activities. It was further planned to give physical examinations and inoculations against preventable diseases, and to improve their nutrition. The enrollment was limited by the size of the room in which the school was held and by the number of preschool children in each community. In Liu Chia Ho, there were large numbers of preschool children but the capacity of the room was only twenty-five. In Ling Chia Hua Yuan, there was a small number of preschool children so the large room was not even filled by the fifteen children who came. Other variations in the nursery school were due to differences in resources. In the beginning there

were no toys in the first community, while in the second many homes had toys bought from the nearby market.

*The parent education program* aimed to provide for two strategic needs in the community: to understand the child and his development, and to work together for the welfare of the children by improving conditions in the community. The meetings in both communities were open to the parents of the nursery school children, and their relatives and friends. They were thus widely available to all adults. Both fathers and mothers in each community attended and took an active part. The program of the weekly meetings included singing, playing games, demonstrations, lectures, and discussions of various phases of child care or guidance as they related to parental responsibility, and the Christian significance of the child-parent relationship.

*Christian nurture* was recognized as a need by the twenty-two men and one woman who were affiliated with the church at the opening of the project in Liu Chia Ho. It was not considered a need at all in Ling Chia Hua Yuan where there not only were no Christians, but where some of the elders held deeply seated prejudices against Christians. The program included Christian religious teaching in classes, a Christian philosophy of life presented in the parent education meetings, training in worship through church services and family worship meetings in Liu Chia Ho, and participation in the life of the city church on special occasions. In the Liu Chia Ho community, all of these services were open to those who wished to take part, and much later most of them were available to members of the other community.

#### EXCERPT FROM THE ORIGINAL PLAN<sup>4</sup>

#### PROPOSED FIVE-YEAR PROGRAM OF WORK IN 1941

##### Objectives

1. To ascertain the needs of the community, to find what are desirable changes, and to demonstrate how a church program can help to bring about needed changes in family and community life through a service-research project.

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<sup>4</sup> This is the plan which was presented to the West China and Central China Conferences for adoption before the project was established at Kien Yang.

2. To establish a program of family life work which will enable individuals to bring about needed changes in relationships within the family and between families of the community; such changes as will provide opportunity for each family member from the youngest child to the oldest grandparent to develop the fullness of personality which Jesus demonstrated and which He advocated for everyone.
3. To develop leadership:
  - a. To develop a local leadership, Christian in its concepts of life and in its daily action, able to carry forward a program until desirable changes have come in family and community life.
  - b. To provide training and experience for lay leaders from other churches and communities in the district and conference.
  - c. To provide in-service training for church and community leaders from various areas.
  - d. To provide pre-professional training for college, university, and seminary students during vacation periods. This should include such experiences in urban and rural life as will give them a knowledge of family and community life which will enrich their class-room experiences and indicate how an on-going church program can help to solve family and community problems.
4. To prepare such materials for use in family life work as are not available elsewhere.

#### Proposed Program for Rural Centers

<i>Liu Chia Ho</i>	<i>Ling Chia Hua Yuan</i>
<i>Staff</i>	<i>Staff</i>
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Full time resident field worker—Bible woman</li> <li>2. Health worker—one day weekly from the station</li> <li>3. Service-research team—staff members, one or two days weekly or a block of some months in residence</li> <li>4. Kien Yang pastor (when appointed)</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Full time resident field worker—Bible woman</li> <li>2. Health worker—one day weekly from the station</li> <li>3. Service-research team—two staff members, one or two days weekly or a block of some months in residence</li> <li>4. Shih Ch'iao pastor</li> </ol>
<i>Location of work</i>	<i>Location of work</i>
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Half day literacy school—Kwan family home</li> <li>2. Church—Kwan family home</li> </ol>	<p>All activities—Ling Ancestral Hall</p>

*Liu Chia Ho*

3. Nursery school and the Mothers' literacy class—Hsiao Kang Tzu Ancestral Hall
4. Adult Literacy Class—Wen Ancestral Hall
5. Special festivals—Wen Ancestral Hall
6. Young married women's literacy class—Wen Ancestral Hall

*Types of Work*

1. Education
  - a. Literacy class for adult women and older girls
  - b. Adult literacy night class for men
  - c. Primary school for children—Begin with half day literacy class. Hope to get the government to establish *Pao Chia* school
2. Family Life Education
  - a. Preparation for marriage—youth group
  - b. Parent education discussion group
  - c. Nursery play group
3. Health Work
  - a. Disease prevention: vaccination, inoculation, fight against malaria, trachoma, and intestinal maladies
  - b. Health teaching in classes—maternity welfare class
4. Club Work
  - a. Youth Club—older boys and girls
  - b. 4H Club—12 to 15 year olds, boys and girls

*Ling Chia Hua Yuan**Types of Work*

1. Education
  - a. Literacy class for older girls and women
  - b. Extra-curricular work for *Pao Chia* school children whose teacher is an 80-year-old man
  - c. General knowledge weekly class for men
2. Family Life Education
  - a. Preparation for marriage—older girls
  - b. Parent education discussion group
  - c. Nursery play group
3. Health Work
  - a. Disease prevention: vaccination, inoculation, fight against malaria, trachoma, and intestinal maladies
  - b. Health teaching in all classes—maternity welfare class
4. Club Work
  - a. Youth Club—older boys and girls
  - b. Children's Club—12 to 15 year old boys and girls



*Liu Chia Ho*

5. Home Industries
  - a. Introduce looms to weave the locally grown and spun cotton
  - b. Investigate possible development of home industry using local products—sugar, straw
6. Agriculture
  - a. Increase vegetable supply to improve nutrition; such foods as tomatoes, melons
  - b. Plant fruit trees—only a few families now have citrous and other fruit trees
  - c. Increase poultry for home use and supplemental income. Study present situation [lem
  - d. Work on fertilizer prob-
7. Religious Nurture
  - a. Religious education in classes and clubs
  - b. Sunday church service
  - c. Special festivals

*Ling Chia Hua Yuan*

5. Home Industries
  - a. Introduce wide looms and new patterns for weaving
  - b. Investigate possible development of home industry using local products—sugar
6. Agriculture
  - a. Increase vegetable supply as needed for nutrition
  - b. Plant fruit trees—all trees of community are flowering trees
  - c. Increase poultry supply; only a few ducks on the pond
  - d. Investigate problems of these farms
7. Religious Nurture
  - a. Religious education in classes and clubs
  - b. Week-day religion for children of *Pao Chia School*
  - c. Special festivals [ing
  - d. Women's weekly meet-

## PLANNING THE PROGRAM

Plans for the work in Liu Chia Ho developed rapidly. The Chengtu District Staff, consisting of the district superintendent, the district missionary, the newly appointed director for the rural project, and a specialist on rural church, visited the Kien Yang church. The first evening, they talked informally with the local church members, the local church midwife, and the Bible woman about the needs of the families in that region. The next day, they went with a few of the local Christians to Liu Chia Ho, visited homes, and attended a meeting of the Credit Cooperative. The

district superintendent and other visitors, on being invited, spoke to the meeting of the Christian Homes Movement telling how family life had been improved as a result of this movement, in various places. The Credit Cooperative voted to invite the Rural Service Station to open work in their community. Following this, a planning meeting was held in one of the homes to talk over local needs.

*The planning meeting* included the district staff, the visiting rural church specialist, three local Christian men and one woman, and a few non-Christian members of the Credit Cooperative who were especially interested in improving their community. A record was kept.

1. Needs of the community listed were:
  - a. Literacy for adults and children
  - b. Care for preschool children while their parents worked in the fields
  - c. Medical care to cure trachoma, skin eruptions, and smallpox
  - d. Sanitary needs were obvious to the district staff but were not mentioned by the local people. Drains were stopped up, water *kangs* had no covers, the open stone-vat toilet was next door to the kitchen in the home where the meeting was held, the buffalo house adjoined one bedroom, dirt and disorder were rampant in many homes.
  - e. Gambling was mentioned as almost universal in the community, but not as something to be changed.
2. Responsibility was allocated as follows:
  - a. Sponsoring body—the Credit Cooperative Executive Committee and representatives of the Rural Service Station
  - b. Field worker (to be resident)—Rural Service Station
  - c. Residence for field worker, space and equipment for the activities—the Credit Cooperative
  - d. The Program—the sponsoring body
3. The sponsoring body continued in session and made the following decisions:
  - a. A time-limit of four months was fixed for the first unit of work
  - b. The initial program would include nursery school, adult and children's literacy classes, weekly parents' meeting and curative health service.
  - c. The district staff and Rural Service Station director were asked to survey the list of needs and arrange a long time program to be presented later to the sponsoring body for action.

The work in Ling Chia Hua Yuan developed much more slowly. Some of the church members of the Kien Yang church had influential friends living there and the local Bible woman had previously made occasional visits and had done some extra-curricular work with the *Pao Chia* school children. The Bible woman conducted the visiting team to this settlement on the day following the visit to Liu Chia Ho. A number of homes were visited and a warm invitation to return for work came from a few families. After the station was opened, contacts were made with the new *Pao Chia* school principal, a local woman, and the clan head, both of whom were friendly.

*An exploratory period* continued for the first six months. Since there were no local Christians and no resident field worker through whom needs could be ascertained, a different procedure from that in the other place was followed. The local Bible woman and a staff member made occasional visits to the community. They were warmly welcomed by the principal of the school and the old grandmother of her family and a few times made overnight visits in their home. During these visits, the needs of the people were ascertained and plans made to meet them. Recreational needs were recognized by a majority of the community as being most urgent, since the clan no longer took responsibility for bringing in theatrical entertainers as they had in former years. A recreational program of an educational nature was conducted weekly for the first few months. The clan head and school principal arranged for a team from the Service Station to come to them for a few days during the China New Year Season when all the people were free to play. The team was composed of six college students, two staff members, the principal of the Kien Yang Christian primary school, a local person and a mature woman, the pastor of the Shih Ch'iao church, while some of his members came daily to participate. The program lasted for three days and provided for both adults and children. Home visitation was a feature; the forty-two families of the local community and twenty nearby families were visited during the three days. Exhibits included food, toys, and embroideries. Clinical service and inoculations were available to all who wished them. Two daily programs of songs, speeches, and drama were attended by about two hundred people. Speeches by the Kien Yang school principal,

# THE DEVELOPING PROGRAM

## DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROGRAM

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<i>Time</i>	LIU CHIA HO		LING CHIA HUA YUAN	
	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Leadership</i>	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Leadership</i>
Fall 1941	Children's Half-day Literacy School	Bible woman	Extra-curricular work for <i>Pao Chia</i> School children	Staff member weekly visits
	Adult Literacy Work			
	Nursery mothers' class	Bible woman	Home visiting	
	Night class for older boys and girls	"		
	Nursery School—half day	Bible woman	Women's weekly meeting	
	Parents' meeting—weekly	Staff member		
	Youth Club	Staff member		
	Sunday night church service	Lay leader assisted by Bible woman		
	Christmas Festival	Staff and pastor		
China New Year	Three-day program Home visiting Exhibits Public meetings with drama, lectures and singing	Team composed of: Staff members Local pastor College students Missionaries	Three-day program Home visiting Exhibits Children's play groups Public meetings—	Team composed of: 2 Staff members Local pastor Six college students



## THE DEVELOPING PROGRAM (Continued)

<i>Time</i>	LIU CHIA HO		LING CHIA HUA YUAN	
	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Leadership</i>	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Leadership</i>
Spring 1942	Continuation of Fall Work Farm and Home Festival	Same staff	Nursery School Parents' meetings Adult literacy class	Staff members and assistant resident for 2 months up to summer Second staff member weekly visits
	Health work—physical examinations for nursery school and school children, curative and preventive medicine	Midwife from Service Station		
	4H Club	Staff member		
Summer 1942	D. V.B.S. for school-age children	Field worker Two college, one seminary and one medical student	Nursery School— included lunch Parents' meetings Adult literacy class General Knowledge for school children	Staff member Two college, one seminary student Second staff member weekly visits Medical staff weekly visits
	Nursery Play Group			
	Literacy class for youth continued	Staff member and visiting college professor weekly visits part time		
	Literacy class for young mar- ried women organized 4H Club continued		Mapped the community Final community gathering	
	Mapped the community Moonlight meetings for the community			

<i>Time</i>	LIU CHIA HO		LING CHIA HUA YUAN	
	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Leadership</i>	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Leadership</i>
Fall 1942	Spring term activities all continued		School children—	Weekly visits of staff member
	Maternity welfare class weekly	Midwife	Extra-curricular—games, singing, geography and civics	
	Lord's Acre planted—rented hillside	Twenty-two men and pastor. Women prepare food	Women's meeting—occasionally	
	Christmas Festival		Local people request nursery school	No leadership
China New Year 1943	China New Year Service in Christian home	Staff member	No program	No leadership
	Evangelistic meetings in one ancestral hall	Field worker	Courtesy calls and gifts	
	Daily Bible study—Christian group	Four college students		
		Local pastor		
	4H Club special program			
Spring 1943	Full Primary School opened	Teacher		
	Children's Festival	Health worker—staff		
	Other program continued	Public health doctor, Ginling men, women, pastor, staff members		
	Lord's Acre—hillside planted, rice field rented and planted			
	District Conf. Training			

## THE DEVELOPING PROGRAM (Continued)

<i>Time</i>	LIU CHIA HO		LING CHIA HUA YUAN	
	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Leadership</i>	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Leadership</i>
Summer 1943	No special program	Director ill, no leadership		
Fall 1943	Spring program continued School endowment raised Sunday School Training Institute—circuit wide Lord's Acre cotton harvest	N.C.C., Religious Ed. Conference leaders		
China New Year 1944	Exhibits, Drama, Evangelistic Meetings	College and seminary students		

# THE DEVELOPING PROGRAM (Continued)

## LEADERSHIP TRAINING IN KIEN YANG STATION

<i>Time</i>	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Leaders</i>	<i>Attended by</i>
China New Year 1942	West China Youth Conference Student preparation for China New Year Program (1 week)	Conference Religious Education Staff Station staff Conference Religious Education Staff, two missionaries	Chengtu District Youth and local youth (3 from Liu Chia Ho) College students on the team
Spring 1942	Chengtu District Conference	Bishop of West China Conference and others	Pastors, Bible Women, lay leaders from the Chengtu District churches (4 men, 2 women from Liu Chia Ho)
Summer 1942	Preparation for summer work (1 week)	One Ginling college, one Cheeloo University student, one Mother- craft School principal, staff members	College students for summer work  Local leaders (2 women, 3 girls from Liu Chia Ho 1 woman from Ling Chia Hua Yuan



## THE DEVELOPING PROGRAM (Continued)

## LEADERSHIP TRAINING IN KIEN YANG STATION

<i>Time</i>	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Leaders</i>	<i>Attended by</i>
Fall 1942	Setting-Up Conference (3 days)	National Christian Council Secretary	Staff and pastors, field worker and lay leaders from Liu Chia Ho
	Sunday School Institute	Conference Religious Education Secretaries, Secretary of National Christian Council, one Religious Education teacher	Kien Yang Circuit, churches' lay leaders (two boys, one woman, one girl Liu Chia Ho)
Spring 1943	Kien Yang Circuit Church Conference	Bishop and others	Kien Yang Circuit pastors, Bible women, lay leaders (Liu Chia Ho 3 men, 2 women)
China New Year 1944	Retreat	Staff and pastor	College students team staff, local leaders (Financed by Liu Chia Ho people)

who had herself become literate after she was married, were aimed to prepare the way for the local people to attempt to eliminate adult illiteracy. The children's recreational program, in charge of a Ginling College student, included civic training. The children were encouraged to clean the ancestral hall which was filled with the remains of firecrackers from the previous religious ceremonies. In addition to song and play, they also prepared some dramas which contributed to the programs for adults. The permanent program of service with a resident service-research staff member and her assistant began two months after China New Year.

#### REPORT OF ONE PARENT EDUCATION PROGRAM

Topic	Guidance Through Toys
Songs	Nursery Motion Songs <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Clap your hands</li> <li>b. Where is my friend?</li> </ol>
Leader	What are your most serious guidance problems?
Responses	"The child won't obey me" (6 mothers) "My child cries and clings to me, until I can't get my work done" (4 mothers)
Leader	What is your way of handling disobedience?
Responses	"Beat him, of course, what else could you do?" (8 responses) "Bribe him with the promise of sweets" (2 responses)
Leader	What do you do when your child cries and clings to you?
Responses	"Nurse him" (4 responses) "Scold him" (6 responses) "Beat him" (4 responses) "Give him sweets" (all 15 in attendance had tried this at times)
Leader	Evaluated these methods and led into one better way that could be tried
Demonstration of Toys	Note: This continued throughout the session, from the entrance of the first child. See Toy Demonstration

- Lecture      *Toys Help in Guiding Children*  
Behavior of the children cited. Discussion of the use of large and small toys. Note that no child selected the very large doll. Different children sat briefly on small stools, all used large ones for push-carts. All children had drunk from the small bowls and only one tried and discarded the large bowl. Discussion of the value of toys in the house. Questions as to how many families had them, and of ways and means of securing or making them.
- Bible Lesson      "And the child grew and became strong, filled with wisdom; and the favor of God was upon him."  
Luke 2:40  
  
Talk on what makes a child strong, and the parent's responsibility for helping him to grow physically, and in wisdom. Discussion of what would indicate that God's favor was upon him.
- Social Hour      Everyone wanted to handle the toys and enjoyed a social hour in doing that.

*Toy Demonstration for Preschool Children*

Note:

1. There were no toys in the homes of these children. A few toys could be bought at the market and all these parents could afford to buy them, if they wished to do so.
2. The person in charge of toys and helping the children had no other part in the meeting.

Purpose of the Exhibit—To let parents see

1. What kind of toy their child selected.
2. That each child selected his own toy independently.
3. What size of toy he selected.
4. What he did with the toy.
5. How long and happily he played with it, without clinging to his mother.
6. That some children played alone whereas others played together in a social way.

Seating Arrangement

All benches were arranged in a hollow square facing the front of the room, so that parents seated themselves around the square as they entered.

### Toy Arrangement

Large and small toys of each article were exhibited; stools, dishes, tables, dolls, etc. They were arranged in the same natural manner to be found in the nursery school, ready for children to play with them.

### Children's Reaction to Toys

As soon as the children entered the room, each left his parents and went to the toys, selected his favorite and began to play with it. Several two-year-olds changed their toy a number of times during the meeting, but all played all through the period. One two-year-old selected a large stool, turned it over, filled it with small articles and pushed it back and forth across the floor almost the entire time. At one time, he pushed it against a big table and was unable to move the table and cried. On receiving help to move it away from the table, he continued to play push-cart. Some older children selected blocks, moved to one side of the square and worked on a building project throughout the session.

### REPORT OF ONE DAY IN NURSERY PLAY GROUP

Location	Sugar house, with the big sugar casks pushed back to the walls.
Equipment	A wash table placed at the front with a pot of boiled water and several small bowls on it. A bench at the front held toys which had been removed from the basket in which they were brought to class. Two wash basins full of water were on another bench. The toilet was outside.
Time	8 to 12 A.M.
Children	Fifteen children were enrolled, and twelve were in attendance
Teachers	One college girl and two young married women
Program	Toilet and handwashing—on arrival Free Play—each child selected the toy which he wished and played either alone or with others Group Activity—toilet Handwashing, followed by shaking hands dry Songs and Nursery Rhymes Conversation with two or three at a time centered about a picture, a book, a story



Excursion—visit to the flower garden and discussion of colors, sizes, and which each child liked the best and the children's stories of flowers they had seen or had at home

Nap—the naps were taken on mats spread on the floor in the middle of the room

Rhythmics—the older children did with zest, and the younger ones participated in to some extent without pressure

Songs—Goodbye

Note: Some benches were placed on one side for parents, and were occupied by three mothers, and one man who stayed briefly.

## Chapter 4

## THE PROGRAM IN OPERATION AND SOME RESULTS

Many influences brought change in these two communities during the three years of this program. They were subjected to a new style of government, while an old style still held much authority in one of the communities. A new-style educational system was in conflict with the old, unconsciously in the one community and consciously in the other. Modern agriculture and public health promoted by the government brought confusion and conflict when different family members held opposing views. The war with its many repercussions impinged upon them. Recruiting of soldiers and laborers for the war effort was carried on in both communities. Patriotic movements of various sorts directly and indirectly changed the thinking and daily life of the people. Masses of people moved into the nearby towns from the war-torn areas and large concentration of soldiers and their families in the vicinity brought many different concepts of daily living and intra-family relationships. And finally the Service Station program was developed in the two communities, bringing change to individuals and families, and relationships between families.

## CHILDREN'S EDUCATIONAL WORK

*A school for the children* was the greatest need recognized by the people of Liu Chia Ho since there was no *Pao Chia* school in the community. A children's half-day literacy school was opened. The few children who were already literate were the potential leaders and made up an advanced class, while all others were in the beginners' class. Reading, writing, arithmetic, and general knowledge

composed the curriculum, the books for which were secured free from the county education bureau. At the end of a year and a half, the half-day literacy class was expanded into a full-time school with a teacher instead of the half-time field worker. The local people assumed responsibility for fuel, vegetables, and half of the rice allowance for the teacher; the salary and the other half of the rice was provided by the Service Station. At the end of two and a half years, the community leaders, assisted by the field worker and staff members, raised money to cover a budget for all expenses of the current school year, and at the same time an endowment to make the school a permanent venture.<sup>5</sup>

The need for children's educational work in Ling Chia Hua Yuan was felt differently by two opposing factions of the community. The teachers of the *Pao Chia* school desired supplemental teaching in civics, geography, general knowledge, and such extra-curricular activities as music and recreation. This was provided by staff members either on certain days a week, when visiting, or regularly when in residence. Shortly after the program was begun, the group who opposed the "progressive modern education" as being good for girls only, established a classics school a mile away for boys only. A few months after this was opened, a request was made by the sponsors of the classics school to the station staff for help in teaching civics and the extra-curricular activities required by the government. This request was met through the activities of a club.

*Children's Clubs* organized in both communities were similar in that all clubs stressed health habits, and had practice in conducting their own meetings. In Ling Chia Hua Yuan, one club was composed of boys and girls from the *Pao Chia* school, while the other was for boys only from the classics school. In each of these, the emphasis was on civics, health, and sanitation. A project in civics encouraged the children to keep the school room clean and take responsibility for cleaning the ancestral hall. During the third year

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<sup>5</sup> Efforts to secure recognition and funds from the county government for a *Pao Chia* school had failed. Requests for such a school had to be approved by the *Hsiang Chang* who was said to wish to have such funds devoted to a school in his own "doorway" and taught by an eighty-year old relative.

At the end of the five-year period, as this goes to press, the local people are erecting a building for school, one for the church, and a room for field worker, teacher, and guests.

the *Pao Chia* club added Christian teaching under the leadership of a staff member.

In Liu Chia Ho, a 4H Club organized at the end of the first three months has continued to the present time. Ten school girls and ten school boys over ten years of age were charter members of the club. Boys and girls met together for parts of their program and separately for other parts of it. The club provided opportunity for practice in leading meetings, conducting their own worship services, deciding on health goals, and carrying through new projects in economics and home-making.

An economics project for boys was goat-raising. Eight families purchased baby goats for the boys, while the other two boys borrowed money to buy their goats, which they sold a year later, returning the money and buying another baby goat. No feed was required, good pasturage being available throughout the year. A committee of the club boys visited the County Agricultural Bureau to secure directions for caring for goats, and the goats were finally judged by the secretary from that bureau. The boys were thus in direct contact with the agricultural leaders and prepared to co-operate with them in other progressive agricultural plans. The next step after the growing of goats for meat was to initiate the raising of milk goats. At the close of the three-year period, three families were prepared to purchase and nurture goats for milk. All ten boys had made a substantial gain on the sale of goats, or were developing a herd for family use.

Preparation for marriage and home-making was taken up through improving-the-home projects. Each member carried through a project in his or her home. Among the projects was the making of a platform for the toilet so that small brothers and sisters could use the large stone-vat toilet without danger of falling in. Others were: dusting furniture and putting the house in order daily, sweeping and putting the courtyard in order, planting flowers to make the yard beautiful, and tomatoes to increase the food supply. Toy-making from bamboo was a later project for the boys, and making sunsuits and aprons from their own homespun cut by new patterns was an activity of the girls. All of these articles were first exhibited at a Children's Festival but belonged to the children in the families of those who made them.



Leadership was developed gradually through the schools and clubs. Both boys and girls presided at club meetings, took charge of opening exercises at school, conducted club worship periods, greeted visitors and in Liu Chia Ho, prepared the school room for church each Sunday night, and decorated the platform for the Children's Festival, and one boy presided at that community meeting. Club leaders took an active part in organizing and carrying through various community projects in Ling Chia Hua Yuan. Girls in both communities acted as assistants in the local nursery schools. Two boys and three girls of Liu Chia Ho attended a week's training institute in Kien Yang, taking increased leadership duties on their return home. Two of the three girls were married a few months later, while the third girl has continued to the present time as leader in the nursery school.<sup>6</sup>

Influence on government education was seen in both communities. In Ling Chia Hua Yuan, the extra-curricular activities and "modern" teaching was provided through demonstration, and the club activities tended to draw together the two opposing factions. In Liu Chia Ho, the principal of the *Hsiang* school arranged to take his whole faculty to visit the school with the purpose of learning how to develop pupil leadership. Boys and girls from the school came to know similar boys and girls from the war orphanage through exchange courtesy visits, and attendance at institutes and town church, Field Day at the orphanage, Christmas and other festivals.

### *Summary*

Through a three-year period of children's educational work, gains were made in several ways.

Improved family living included improved toilets, cleanliness and orderliness inside and outside the houses, and beautifying the homes through planting flowers. It further included toys from local bamboo made by boys and clothing of homespun cloth made by girls from better patterns.

Economic gains were made in a goat supply for meat in Liu Chia Ho, and additional fruit and vegetables.

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<sup>6</sup> During the fourth year of the program, one girl from Ling Chia Hua Yuan attended the Mothercraft School in Kien Yang, became a Christian, and has carried much responsibility for local work.

Self-support was developed to the extent that both communities provided space for all activities. In Liu Chia Ho, the local people gradually took responsibility for financing the primary school.

Government education was influenced by providing a pattern for extra-curricular activities, which was recognized in both communities. Leadership was developed as boys and girls took responsibility for leading meetings, keeping the school room and ancestral hall clean, preparing the school room for church each week, and for festivals at certain times. Two boys and three girls in Liu Chia Ho attended one or two training institutes each, and three girls assisted as teachers in the nursery school.

#### ADULT LITERACY WORK

The majority of youth and adults in both communities were illiterate. In Liu Chia Ho, every family had some adult illiterates, and many families were completely illiterate. In Ling Chia Hua Yuan, two women and many men had considerable education but all other women and a few whole families were illiterate. Men and women from both communities who went to market needed to be able to recognize money and to write farm and household accounts. All of the people needed to be able at times to read letters, wedding and funeral invitations, and such documents as land deeds and mortgages, and government notices. Classes for adults were organized in both communities, registered with the county adult education bureau and had their books free from that bureau.

Three classes were held in Liu Chia Ho during the three years. One class for mothers of nursery school children included one young boy. It met daily for an hour following the nursery school at the noon-time rest which women regularly took on returning to their homes from the field before they prepared dinner. This class continued during the three-year period with an attendance of from five to ten. The members learned to read, write, and sing. A second class for young men and women met for two hours five nights a week beginning about nine o'clock after the evening farm work was done. The first year it met at the same home as the children's literacy class, and was taught by the field worker. After a few months, the *Pao Chang* came two nights a week to teach civics. From this class, a youth group was organized which aided in developing leadership. After a year, the class was moved to the

ancestral hall at Sha Ho Pa where a majority of the young people lived and where several young married couples were able to attend. More support was assumed locally when each family who attended provided a lamp. Three exceptions to this were in families where the elders were unwilling to have their oil "wasted" for young people to study. A Christian family provided oil for the youth of these families, thus enabling them to study. The elders of the clan thought the ancestral spirits might be offended if Christian worship were conducted in the ancestral hall. Since many of the members of the class wished to investigate Christianity, this same Christian family provided a room nearby for Christian teaching and worship. This was held at the close of the class period and usually the whole class attended. Attendance in this class averaged between fifteen and twenty throughout the three year period. A third class was organized during the first summer. Conducted by a college girl, it was held in the Ch'en ancestral hall for fifteen young married women of that vicinity who found it inconvenient to attend either the mothers' or the night class. Reading, writing, health, music, and games were taught to this alert and energetic group. The class closed with the departure of the college girl and was not reopened for want of leadership.

A class in Ling Chia Hua Yuan had a checkered existence. Fifteen young married women and older girls enrolled in the class which met two hours each night for slightly over a month. A dominating clan elder who ardently opposed education for women somewhat violently broke up the class. Two of the younger girls entered the day school and two older ones were quickly married off by their frightened families. Five women, not closely related to the irate elder, including the clan head's concubine, resumed study after a few weeks. This number increased to eight during the summer when a team of college girls were in residence and one of them took over the class. It lapsed again in the autumn for lack of leadership.

As a result of the adult literacy classes, two younger boys and several girls in Liu Chia Ho, and two younger girls in Ling Chia Hua Yuan entered day school and continued their studies. A total of fifty youth and young adults became literate in Liu Chia Ho, and less than ten achieved this in Ling Chia Hua Yuan. Through the youth organization, young people had practice in taking civic

responsibility, in conducting meetings, and also in planning together for the community. Two of them attended The Chengtu Youth Institute of the Methodist Church which was held in Kien Yang, and received training for service. One of these later assisted in teaching the day school, and in leading the 4H Club. The other's marriage was notable for being the first Christian wedding of the community. One woman who studied in the first class later attended a training institute, and became a teacher of beginners in the literacy class.

### *Summary*

Some achievements of the adult literacy work were:

Fifty young people and young adults in Liu Chia Ho, and less than ten in Ling Chia Hua Yuan, became literate.

Continuing education was had by two boys and several girls in Liu Chia Ho, and two girls in Ling Chia Hua Yuan.

New self-respect and status for women resulted from these classes, as husbands and wives studied together. Some women cooperated in work for the nursery school.

Leadership was developed as many young people became civic minded, taking responsibility for planning and carrying through improvement in the community. Two attended Youth Institute for special training and one later helped as teacher in the school and as leader of the 4H Club. One woman became a teacher in the literacy class and two others took responsibility for other phases of the local program.

Support for the work was seen when space was provided by the local people for classes to meet. Oil for lamps was provided by the Liu Chia Ho people from the beginning of the second year.

### NURSERY SCHOOL AND PARENT EDUCATION

A program of nursery school and parent education was begun simultaneously with the children's and adult's literacy work in both communities. This made provision for helping the whole family to make improvement at the same time. The nursery school was for children from two through five years of age. At Liu Chia Ho, the Wen Family ancestral hall was assigned for this program and since twenty-five children filled it to capacity, this enrollment was sustained throughout the three-year period. This limited the number and excluded many in this populous community whose parents wished to enroll them. In Ling Chia Hua Yuan,



where epidemics had decimated the population from time to time, there were few children of nursery school age. The fifteen children enrolled did not fill the great ancestral hall which was eventually allocated for use. During the first few months, which might be called a demonstration period, the nursery school was held in the courtyard of an interested family. In the summer, when it was taught by a college girl, it was moved to the ancestral hall. Certain families in each community took responsibility for sponsoring the nursery school, cleaning the courtyard, putting it in order, and providing water to wash hands, and boiled water to drink. The children brought their own stools from home daily, since no one came a long distance. A few children in the Liu Chia Ho community left their stools at the ancestral hall, and in that community one long low bench was provided by the *Pao Chang* as a mark of *Pao Chia* approval of the project. In the summer, mats were loaned by families to spread on the floor for the daily rest period, and by the first mid-summer families recognized the need for nursery school lunch and mothers took turns at providing it, one day each.

*The need for young children to establish good routine habits* which would bring a maximum of satisfaction in adult life was unrecognized by the parents. Only older children and adults went to the toilet. Children wore open seated panties and were allowed to urinate and defecate any time and any place inside or outside of the house. The result of this practice included unhygienic conditions for the child, the family, and the community. Even more important was the failure on the part of the children to establish regular eliminations. A great number of adults and many children suffered from constipation, going for several days or a week without defecation, because of the lack of establishing regular elimination habits.

The field worker in Liu Chia Ho was in agreement with the local attitude that "children could not be taught toilet habits," and, during the three year period, there was no general acceptance of toilet routine as being desirable for preschool children. However, people accepted it as desirable in a school situation. Some families provided manure buckets and placed them in a goat room for a toilet before the nursery school was opened. For some children the habit of going to a manure bucket as a toilet carried over and became

a home practice. A few families arranged the home toilet so the small child could not fall in, and thus enabled their children to form a toilet habit which could carry over into adult life. The only toilet available in Ling Chia Hua Yuan was in the day school which was located in the theater-space of the ancestral hall. It was a good toilet into which the children could not fall and was decorated with red posts and friezes in harmony with the ancestral hall. However, it was an extended trip from the nursery school, across two courtyards and through two halls.

Several children established toilet habits and a group of children often controlled others insisting that they make use of the proper place. Adults of the community saw no reason for children going to the toilet. "Imagine a small child going to the toilet!" commented astonished grandmothers with pride in the new accomplishment learned at nursery school. Many families of the community had the wooden toilet buckets secured from the Shih Chiao market and used them at night in bedrooms. Cooperative parents encouraged their children to use these buckets. The children of five families had active encouragement from parents to practice toilet habits at home. A few others like Ch'uan-wei voluntarily carried the practice from school into the home.

Washing, combing hair, and tidying clothes before going to school were different in the two communities. These had not been regular practices in the Liu Chia Ho community. Babies had their faces washed and their clothing changed only occasionally after several days' lapse. At the beginning of the nursery school only two children were exceptions. Hung-ying's mother regularly washed her child's face and combed her hair each morning, just as she did for herself. Chung-tzu's mother liked her little girl to "look pretty" and did the same. Neighbors looked on this as being "different" and somewhat superior behavior. When children started to nursery school, their parents were encouraged to get them ready for school, and cooperation came quickly because of the social pressure. Dirty faces and uncombed hair disappeared during the first two weeks as these wee children became "scholars of the nursery school." A strong emphasis was placed on washing hands after the toilet and before eating. During the three-year period many families reported that this habit carried over from a school to a home practice and

that the nursery school children influenced the adults of the home in this respect.

Washing, combing hair, and tidying clothing before going to school were largely accomplished before nursery school opened. In Ling Chia Hua Yuan day school children of the community went neatly arrayed and this carried over to nursery school children. The few mothers who did not practice this in the beginning were visited by the *Pao Chia* school principal as well as staff members and in every case kept the child clean and tidy after one reminder. Washing hands after going to the toilet and before meals was a new practice. The same five families encouraged children on all routines, and the one more mature boy, Ch'uan-wei, practiced them voluntarily at home.

Sleeping practices for children in the family were the same as for adults in both of these rural communities. Preschool children who arose at dawn and retired at nine or ten at night were often tired. In Liu Chia Ho where there were old people who took naps, the children joined them as in the case of Ping-tzu and his grandfather. Single unit families had not realized that it was necessary to provide for this supplementary sleep for the children. It was the first summer after eight months of the nursery school before some parents cooperated by lending mats which were unrolled and spread on the floor daily for the children to take naps. During the three-year period no general change was observed in the attitude of parents of this community toward supplementary rest for children. A few families reported that their children, when at home, voluntarily stretched out for a nap once or twice a day. Some young mothers and older girls who assisted in the nursery school accepted the nap as a regular and needed change and tried to establish naps at home. In Ling Chia Hua Yuan, certain families like Mei-yu's had mothers or elders who encouraged early retiring for children and daily naps, though all rules were off for China New Year and a child might fall asleep anywhere in the midst of festivities. An increasing number of children voluntarily took naps and other families encouraged daily naps and early retirement.

Eating routine in the homes was the same for all non-nursing children as for adults. Food for small children was exactly the same as for adults in kind, preparation, and meal hours. Exceptions



to this were found in homes where special dainties were prepared for old grandparents and shared with the small children. In season, green vegetables were added, though many seasons only "red pepper sauce" was served with cereals which were the partially-cooked hard kind enjoyed by farmers. Longer cooking was considered a waste of fuel and of the time of busy mothers.

Early physical examinations of the nursery school children showed every child in the one community and most of the children in the other suffering from malnutrition. Adequate nutrition was basic to other development and therefore a major undertaking. The three-year period saw some changes in the diet of the preschool children. Nursery school lunches demonstrated to parents in a few months that the children needed between-meal supplementary feeding and some families practiced this at home. Food demonstrations when the children ate all the foods shown in the parents' meetings were convincing to parents who complained that their children wouldn't eat vegetables. Investigations as to why children would not eat certain things showed three causes. Adults quite generally considered cereal as the real food and vegetables as not necessary. Some children adopted this attitude of their parents. In many instances a nursery school child was still nursing even though the mother's milk supply was long since depleted in both quantity and value. When the child nursed, his appetite was dulled, and he did not desire other food. Once psychological rejection of food was found in the case of Chung-tzu, who had received most irregular treatment. She had been nursed, rejected when a new baby brother came, and nursed again after he died. At five years, she was nursing again for the third period following the death of another baby brother. She was a sallow, thin, crying child who clung to her mother whenever she was in sight.

For the most part, in Liu Chia Ho, where many people lived at subsistence level, children and adults ate all they could get, which was, in some families, not enough. Seasonal food supply meant periods of inadequate foods for small children. Carrots were raised in quantity, but had a very brief period in the family diet as they were not considered good to eat except when full grown. Green leafy vegetables were available in large quantity, varying with seasons. Boiled sweet potatoes, deep yellow in color and very sweet,



were a boon to the children's diet about half the year. Citrous fruit trees grew well but only two families had planted them in their doorways, therefore most children had no fruit since none was grown at home. Only two families of the community owned chickens, and eggs were in no regular diet in the community. The soil, which was good on the hills for sugar cane and in the valleys for rice, did not grow good soy beans and none were available locally to make bean curd or bean milk so greatly needed in the diets. Sugar cane provided a quick and brief pick-up in energy. More citrous fruit trees were planted, and tomatoes were added to gardens. The 4H Club boys added more goats to the community and at the close of the three-year period, three families were ready to buy goats for milk. The children ate the better food that was provided, and this, combined with additional rest, resulted in improved nutrition. A startling example was seen in the case of Wen Fu-ching, who was diagnosed by three medical people as suffering from suspected leprosy. His consumption of ten cups of bean milk at Children's Festival indicated a need for more adequate diet. His mother, notably non-cooperative, was influenced by her husband, who attended parents' meetings, to provide this. After a year and a half of better diet, the thick swollen cracked skin cleared up to smooth soft skin, showing the trouble to have been a vitamin deficiency. Children ceased to reject him in play as they had earlier and his pugnaciousness began to disappear.

The need for better eating habits was apparent to many families in Ling Chia Hua Yuan. "He won't eat, he won't eat," was the common cry from most of the families. Very soon after the nursery school opened, Hsiao-hung's mother, always alert to learn, and approved by her husband and mother-in-law, weaned her three-year-old. This child demonstrated an increased interest in food consisting of cereals cooked soft like grandmother's and a limited supply of vegetables. She became a round-faced, healthier, happier little girl. During the summer when parents' meetings were held at the noon-time rest hour and attended by fathers and mothers, the problem of feeding was discussed and recognized as connected with nursing. A food demonstration conducted by a college girl was convincing when the nursery school children ate the foods refused at home. Another time the midwife discussed the time for

weaning the child and illustrated from her own experience. She insisted that when the milk supply of the mother decreased was the time to wean the child. This convinced two mothers who gradually weaned their two-and-a-half-year-old children, and one four-year old boy who heard it voluntarily weaned himself. Food like that which grandparents ate was provided for these three children. A few weeks saw them change from listless, fretful, non-cooperative children to alert, bright-eyed cooperative children who learned more quickly. Fathers and mothers agreed on the need for vegetable gardens to supplement the diet. Several families set aside plots of ground near home, which when planted were easily tended by the mothers and thus increased the food supply.

*The need for all children to develop independence* was satisfied by the nursery school, although the community recognized this need only for girls. All very young children had everything done for them. However, girls were taught independence in the home at a very early age because all girls would leave home young to be married into another family where they would not only have to be independent but also be prepared to serve others. An occasional girl who was an only child was indulged and everything done for her. This was the way that Hsiao-hung's family treated her until the mother and grandmother recognized the need for independence and taught her to do things for herself. Boys, on the other hand, continued to have everything done for them except in the case of an over-assertive boy such as Ch'uan-wei, who preferred to do things for himself, or the boy whose position in the community was precarious, such as one whose father had deserted the family. A boy would always have his own family about, ready to serve him. A boy who picked himself up when he fell or the boy who washed his own face and dressed himself caused comment in the community. Many adult men who were extremely dependent on other members of the family gave evidence of the need for developing independence in boys. Eldest Brother in Ping-tzu's family was one who was supposed to take on the greatest responsibility for the family, but was thoroughly dependent upon others for making decisions and for sustaining work effort until a task was completed.

Opportunities that were available for developing independence at the nursery school level were primarily those of self-help in

routines and being responsible for themselves when meeting an accident or frustration. In parents' meetings much time was spent on the reasons for developing independence. Demonstration of children serving themselves and others at school lunch encouraged parents to allow the children to serve their own food at home. The custom in the community of children voluntarily helping with work of field or home was encouraged, the values of this procedure discussed with parents, and the procedures expanded. The importance of making the experience satisfying to the child was emphasized. During the three years considerable improvement in developing independence was made. There was steady progress from doing everything for the children to allowing them to wash their hands, pick themselves up when they fell, or climb over a high doorsill. The same parents who encouraged routines, also encouraged independence in their children at home.

*There was special need for the children to explore their environment, expand their relationships, and acquire command of language.* Encouragement and opportunity for this had most far-reaching effects on the children who, in general, were quite retarded in language development, inactive, and lacking in imaginative play. "He's too little, he can't learn anything," was a statement often heard, which expressed the general attitude toward the preschool child. "Learning" meant being able to read and write.

Because the children were left alone a great deal in home or field, they were not talked to nor played with by adults. Responsibility for teaching a child to speak and express himself was not recognized by most parents. Since there were no toys, books, or pictures in the homes in Liu Chia Ho, these articles with songs and nursery rhymes provided in the nursery school all helped to develop the child's language and imagination in play. Through the three years the range in play behavior was from sitting quietly and holding a toy to the building of a house and stove from stone on the hillside and preparing a dinner of leaves served with twig chopsticks and plentiful conversation during the process. Voluntary singing and acting of nursery rhymes during free play period was further evidence of improved command of language. Ling Chia Hua Yuan was so near to Shih Chiao with its "native goods store" that families who could afford it gave toys to their children at



China New Year. Tiny bamboo vehicles, baskets, and bowls were in some homes. Since dolls were under suspicion by the community and were not on the market, there were none in the homes. A small collection of toys was provided for the nursery school from the Service Station. Because dolls were an object of superstition, they were never allowed to be taken to the homes.

There was a lack of trees and hills and natural play places within the walls to stimulate the imagination of the children. As the parents grew in understanding their children's needs, they spent more time in a specific effort to help their children to increase their command of language. Nursery school songs were learned in parents' meetings and sung with the children in the homes. From few toys at first, an increased number of them were to be found in the home. Parents forgot the distance between child and adult, fixed by custom, in the joy of sharing the imaginative play of their little children.

*There was need for the parents to study about their children.* They recognized the need for more care for their children, which the nursery school could supply during their absence in the fields or at market. They also realized that the children who were fretful or listless needed something but they didn't know that what they needed was food, rest, and satisfying activity and that the parents themselves could provide these. They thought young children must be peevish and sluggish. They recognized that girls needed to learn to be independent but saw no such need for boys. They recognized inequalities between men and women and some felt a need for status for women. They were unaware of the relationship between the guidance of small children and status for women. These many problems were faced in weekly parents' meetings.

Each meeting included entertainment and teaching. Nursery school songs were learned so the parents could share them with their children at home. Some time was spent on community singing of pep songs, family life songs, and Christian songs. Games were played and a discussion, lecture, or demonstration, or more often a combination of these, was given on some phase of child guidance or family relationships as they affected the child. The Christian viewpoint of family relationships was presented. All families recognized that the farmer planted the grain, and that Heaven sent



the rain and sun to make it grow. A further expansion was the Christian concept of being co-workers with God in feeding the right food to the child so he could grow strong. The health service from the Kien Yang Rural Service Station provided physical examinations for all children in literacy classes or nursery school.

All parents of nursery school children sometimes attended bringing their relatives and friends. The meetings never excluded the nursery school children, consequently parents and children shared the activities together. In Liu Chia Ho, fathers and mothers of ten families attended fairly regularly throughout the period. During the first summer, the meetings were held at the noon rest period of the farmers, and members of the youth organization made a point of attending. The meetings became community gatherings which required seating parents of the nursery school children in an inner circle for more active participation in the discussions. In Ling Chia Hua Yuan, the attendance increased from a few mothers in the springtime with an occasional father standing on the side, to both parents of ten families attending regularly during the summer at noon rest-time. Sometimes a whole family was present. Elders of certain families of this community prohibited participation in games, even the quiet sitting-down variety, and forbade parents to sing in the meetings. However, all were allowed to share the songs and games of the children at home, and were permitted to take part in discussions and watch the demonstrations.

Cooperation within the family came as a result of the parent education meetings. In four families in Liu Chia Ho, home improvements were planned by husbands and wives and carried through cooperatively. The range was from cleaning the house, putting it in order and making the beds each day before going to the fields, and placing bamboo vases of wild flowers in the living rooms, to cutting a window in the kitchen, providing light on the stove. These families reported that they planned together about the care and guidance of their children. Five families in Ling Chia Hua Yuan greatly increased in cooperation between parents as they planned together to help their preschool children in establishing routines, developing independence, and increasing their play life.

Cooperation between families in each community also increased. In Liu Chia Ho, families living a sixth of a mile apart had

not known each other previous to these meetings. They learned to work together on projects connected with the nursery school, such as providing the lunch or some bit of equipment for the children. When they had worked together in these ways, they later co-operated in other aspects of the program, such as working to make the Children's Festival a success or helping to raise money for the budget of the day school. In Ling Chia Hua Yuan, families of both the opposing local factions enrolled their preschool children in the nursery school, discussed child care and guidance problems in the parents' meetings, worked together to provide nursery school lunches, and appeared on the last-day program.

### *Summary*

During the three years, the nursery school and parent education work made certain gains in all families, but was especially effective in producing notable changes in five families in each community; the greatest change being observed among the fathers of Ling Chia Hua Yuan, where active hostility changed to warm cooperation and requests for the nursery school to be reopened.

### *Nursery school gains:*

Routines which carried over from school to home practice were voluntary on the part of most children and encouraged by some parents.

Toilet habits not accepted at first in Liu Chia Ho as being possible or desirable for young children became a home practice for some children but not encouraged by any parents. In Ling Chia Hua Yuan, the parents considered regular use of the toilet very desirable as a school practice. Two families improved their toilets so the children could use them, and many others encouraged their children to use the wooden toilet buckets at home. Several children took responsibility for their school mates and urged them to go to the toilet when there were lapses.

Daily washing, combing hair, and tidying in preparation for school became a practice after one reminder in Ling Chia Hua Yuan where there was the influence of such practices in *Pao Chia* school. In Liu Chia Ho, they became general practice after the first two weeks. Washing hands after use of the toilet became general practice voluntarily on the part of the children in both communities.

Daily nap routine was voluntarily established as a home practice by a few children in Liu Chia Ho and was accepted by parents as

desirable. In Ling Chia Huan Yuan several families added naps as routines for the children and early retirement as a general practice. Better eating habits were established by the children in both communities. Several mothers provided supplemental lunches for the children in the home. Notable change came for four children in Ling Chia Hua Yuan who were weaned and had special food provided for them. All children with better feeding and more adequate sleep made remarkable gains in alertness and cooperation.

Independence, which had been accepted as a need for girls, was increasingly accepted as a need for boys. The range in three years was from having everything done for them to picking themselves up when they fell down, climbing over doorsills instead of being lifted over, washing their hands after use of the toilet, and dressing themselves.

A change which came in imaginative play in Liu Chia Ho was from sitting quietly with a toy clutched tightly to them, to building a house and stove of stone on the hillside and serving a meal of leaves, all interspersed with conversation. In Ling Chia Hua Yuan, the change was shown by an increased number of toys in the homes. In both communities, language was increased as the parents broke over the fixed gulf between children and adults and talked, laughed, and sang with their children.

#### *Parent education gains:*

Parent education was an integral part of the nursery school program with outcomes in such improved health and social practices as follows: The parents who had been unaware of why the children were fretful and listless came to recognize the need for weaning children, for more adequate food, rest, and satisfying activity and provided these things for them.

They learned to play and sing with their children at home the games and songs learned in parents' meetings.

Mothers who had not earlier known one another cooperated in providing nursery school lunches, and fathers worked together to provide equipment.

Five families in each community were most changed. In Liu Chia Ho during the third year, the fathers and mothers planned together for the guidance and education of their children, and made marked changes in their homes. In Ling Chia Hua Yuan, the influence of the nursery school was effective in bringing together opposing factions of the community. Members of both factions entered their children in the nursery school, attended parents' meetings, helped to prepare school lunches, and appeared on the final program.

## CHRISTIAN NURTURE

Christian nurture in the two communities varied quite widely, according to previous experiences of the people in each community with Christians. In Liu Chia Ho, this had been a satisfying experience. A former pastor had helped the people to organize their Credit Cooperative and had trained them in cooperative methods. This had created a friendly feeling and there were a few local Christians who were active both in the church and community. The experience at Ling Chia Hua Yuan was quite different. At some previous time, the visit of a Bible seller had been followed by an epidemic which was attributed to him. The result was that Christian people were under suspicion. A few persons with wide contacts outside their community were friendly to Christian people.

*The formal church program* was non-existent in Ling Chia Hua Yuan since there were no church members. It was, on the contrary, a vital part of the program in the Liu Chia Ho community. In both places staff members and college students resident in the community held daily devotional services in the courtyard where they lived. These were open to the community and people almost daily came to listen or sit with those who worshipped. The recreational program included dramas portraying the Christian family and family-centered Bible stories together with those of a patriotic nature from Chinese history. The Christian concept of being co-workers with God in the care and guidance of children was discussed at all parents' meetings. Visitors with wide educational, social, civic and Christian experience were brought to the community by the Rural Service Station, and participated in programs presenting and demonstrating a Christian philosophy of life. The pastor and local church members of the nearby churches went often to the community to present a Christian way of life. Sunday night services where children and youth prepared the school room and decorated it as a worship place were a regular part of the program in Liu Chia Ho from the beginning. An average attendance throughout the period was forty. Religious education was taught in all classes of the varied program, literacy classes, nursery school, and parents' meetings. Wider experience included celebration of Christian festivals and participation in the nearby town church activities.



*Church membership* was, in the beginning, largely understood as being "registered" at the church. Only a few of the thirty men and one woman who had previously become members had a different concept of it. Two or three men were active Christians and were said by the people of the community to show evidence of being Christian in their family relationships. Hung-ying's mother told of how kindly her husband treated her since he had become a Christian and the neighbors were all agreed that this family had a higher degree of harmony than any other in the community. The Credit Cooperative had elected the one Wen man who was a Christian as treasurer because they considered him reliable in handling funds. There was a gradual change in those who were church members to more understanding of what it meant to be a Christian. At the beginning of the three-year period, there was no family all of whose members were Christian. At the close, there were four families with all members Christian, and a number of other families in which most of the members wanted to identify themselves with the church but were waiting until the whole family was ready so that all could share in Christian life.

Two college students who came to work in the church program before they decided about becoming Christian joined the church following their participation and took active leadership in the Chengtu church.

Local church members became more active in the Kien Yang church. Children and youth often took wild flowers, palms, or colored leaves to help decorate the church. They attended and took part in special church festivals, they attended circuit or district meetings of the church, and three adults were members of the official board of the church.

*Training and practice in worship* were provided through the Sunday night church service, which began simultaneously with other phases of the program. It was conducted by a local leader using the rural worship materials of the Nanking Theological Seminary and songs copied onto song sheets. Training in worship was also a part of the children's and adults' literacy programs. After the adult literacy class moved to an ancestral hall, Christian teaching and worship were given in the home of a Christian family each night following the class. The children conducted their own worship serv-

ices as a part of the 4H Club program. The effect of training in worship was seen in several families after a time. A year and a half after the other programs began, three families established family worship which was also attended by their neighbors. Such a family was Liang Pao Chang's. First his wife became Christian. Then his brother ceased gambling and taking opium and when all members of both families were Christian, they shared worship life in their own home as well as at church.

*Leadership for the church* was steadily developed not only as these Christians led meetings but even more in the quality of their Christian living. Liang Pao Chang leading church services, Wang Ta-niang leading the Women's Society of Christian Service, Wu Ta-niang inviting families to church, Ping-tzu's Eldest Brother conducting the youth meeting were examples of Christian leaders in action. All adult leaders had attended one or more leadership training institutes at the church. Two young people had attended a training institute, and two older boys and one woman a Sunday school training conference. All of them exhibited an increased sensitivity to the needs of the people of their community and made personal sacrifices to help others to meet their needs. One woman from the Ling Chia Hua Yuan community had attended a training period in preparation for the summer program of work.

*Church support* was a growing matter beginning with the opening of the program in the Liu Chia Ho community. A church collection was begun the first Sunday and an average of giving commensurate with the ability of the group was sustained through the period. Christians from this center also gave regularly to the support of the Kien Yang church of which they were a branch. One significant venture was in a project known as the Lord's Acre. Twenty-two men and one woman participated in the opening ceremony led by the pastor and in the planting of the land which was rented for the purpose of preparing for a future church building.<sup>7</sup> Children and women helped to pick the first cotton. Following the college student service of the third winter, the people of this community provided funds and supplies to make possible a three-day retreat. It was held in the Kien Yang church and participated

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<sup>7</sup> As this goes to press, we are informed that the church building is under construction—five years after the opening of the project.

in jointly by students and country church members. During the third year, people of the Ling Chia Hua Yuan community contributed to a fund for the salary of the field worker from the Service Station.

There was a gradual *change in the attitude of the people* of Ling Chi Hua Yuan toward Christians. From fear and suspicion of all Christians in the beginning, they changed to friendliness for Christian leaders from the Service Station and the Christian college students and finally to active working together with them for improvement of the community. Two years after the project opened, a staff member of the Rural Service Station was invited to teach extra-curricular subjects including Christian religious education in the *Pao Chia* school on the two days a week which she spent in the community.

*The value of human life* was emphasized in all Christian teaching and the effect of this was increasingly seen in the behavior of the community. Through all these programs, the Sunday night service, the class teaching, and the Christian festivals, the value of human life and cooperation with God in preserving it was stressed. Some superstitions were challenged, such as the fear of vaccination in the "Year of the Cow" in the zodiac. An increasing number of parents welcomed vaccination and inoculations for their children. Some mothers were willing to spend time to prepare the right kind of food for their children. There was increasing recognition that babies died of preventable diseases and a growing desire to save human life. During the first year all of the mothers of the ten families selected for special study were pregnant. It was the local custom for women to deliver their own babies. A series of discussions on maternity welfare were given by the health worker to these mothers. Four mothers did not follow instructions for delivering their babies clean, and the babies died. The six who did follow the directions saved the lives of their babies.

Another result of this emphasis on the value of human life was the challenge given to unequal treatment of boys and girls. During the three-year period, four families who had formerly not done so decided to keep their baby girls. Among them was a father who, although he was a member of the Kien Yang Church official board, had not previously placed this value on human life.



Another demonstration of this was the change in Mrs. Wu, when she became a Christian. She had been an ardent Buddhist, living on a meticulous vegetarian diet for eight years to expiate her husband's and son's deaths. The change brought a balanced diet which she badly needed and in addition she was able to share again in social life in the community and had an opportunity to help others and take her part as community leader. In six months, she was healthy and happy and able to look after her small farm and plant her garden. From being useless she became helpful to herself and others.

*Respect for personality* was not recognized as a need at the opening of the program of service. Respect for the elders had been stressed, respect for men conceded, respect for women scarcely thought about, while the small child had been hardly considered as a person. Domination of younger members by elders and of wives by husbands was common practice in these communities. During the three years some changes came. Ping-tzu's grandfather ceased to treat the women of his family harshly. His eldest grandson, who was a Christian with some modern education, had always treated his wife kindly. Two wives of the Liu Chia Ho community said they had not been harshly treated for three years since their husbands become Christians. Four other wives reported that they were treated harshly not more than once a week instead of daily as formerly. Five wives of the Ling Chia Hua Yuan community reported that their husbands had ceased to treat them harshly since they attended parents' meetings, and consulted them in matters regarding their children. Selling of wives was still practiced in one community but the college girls during the summer program seriously challenged this and the college men called attention to the fact that it was now against the law.

A recognition of the child as a person came in a startling fashion to the community when one of the nursery school children died. Instead of casually wrapping the baby in matting and putting it out as had been the custom of this community, the family provided a casket and dug a grave, the children prepared flowers, and a Christian burial service was held.

*Social intercourse and widened vision* came as a result of the parent education and the celebration of festivals. Eighty members of the Credit Cooperative attended the first Christmas program. Many of



them expressed great surprise and appreciation for the contribution adult women made on the program. They had not before seen women do anything outside the home or field.

Husbands and wives who had not previously shared social life accepted a "new way" and attended festivals and church together. Improved recreational opportunities made this possible. Farm and Home Festival gave an opportunity for them to exhibit the field products which they had raised by working together. Either husband or wife might go forward to receive the prize. Exhibiting embroidery, sauces, and salt vegetables prepared by the wife gave new importance to her work.

The China New Year family party at *Liang Pao Chang's* was held especially to provide wholesome recreation and worship. It was planned primarily to help his brother and was the means of securing cooperation of all Christian families and the youth with whom he had worked in the adult literacy class. These were the local leaders who cooperated with the service-research team and college students to provide recreation for the whole community during the days that followed.

These programs served the 80 families of the Credit Cooperative who participated largely in them. Four to six hundred people daily attended. They found them to be educational and entertaining and more engrossing than gambling which had provided the only other recreation. Changes in the attitudes of individuals about gambling and opium were most notable in the case of *Liang Pao Chang's* brother. He ceased to gamble and take opium and after a year he became a Christian. Many young men stopped gambling. Changes in the attitude of the community were from admitting gambling as a universally accepted practice for all festivals and recreation periods, to adopting new forms of recreation with more positive values. During the third China New Year season there was no gambling in the whole community during the hours of the China New Year programs.

The Children's Festival was celebrated two years after the program had begun, and was the means of bringing together many families for the first time. Some families who had not sent their children to nursery school entered the health contest and later enrolled their children in both nursery and day schools. Previous to

this festival only two families of the Wei settlement had sent their children to nursery or day school but all the Wei families attended this festival, and it was following this that the wealthiest mother entered her lame son in the day school. One Hwang settlement of thirty-five families had never before had any contact with other families of the community. Several families from this community came with their children to watch the physical examinations the first day and representatives of ten of these families came the following day for the program. Both they and their children fearlessly ate the refreshments served at the close.

*Old enmities between families were being erased.* Ping-tzu's grandfather had not spoken to the Ch'en family for many years, and he had held the bitterest feelings toward them. After the staff came to live at his house, the Ch'en children attended school and church there. The eldest son of the Ch'en family and eldest grandson in Ping-tzu's family worked together on arrangements for the China New Year program held in the Ch'en Ancestral Hall. Second Grandson and the Ch'en boy of his age worked together in the 4H Club while Ch'en Hwang-chu had become Ping-tzu's teacher in her role of assistant in the nursery school. Grandfather's relationships with others had changed as seen when he sent away the dogs so they would not harm the school children, and when he personally welcomed the *hua kan* carriers who used his private road.

### *Summary*

A formal church program was non-existent in Ling Chia Hua Yuan where there were no Christians, but was a vital part of the program in Liu Chia Ho where there were some active Christians and a friendly attitude toward Christian people.

Staff and resident college students held devotions open to all.

Visitors with wide educational, social, civic, and Christian experiences were brought to both communities.

The major work in Christian nurture was accomplished through all phases of the program which were primarily Christian in their emphasis.

Regular church services and weekly Christian religious education for children were begun simultaneously with the other phases of the program in Liu Chia Ho and continued throughout and following the three-year period.

Church membership during three years changed from mere "reg-

istration" at the church by an individual member, to four whole families being Christian and other individuals wanting to join the church but waiting for the whole family to join together. Two college students decided to become Christian following work in the centers and became active in the Chengtu church.

Training and practice in worship were offered through Sunday night church services with an average attendance of forty and through family worship and the worship period in literacy classes and the 4H Club.

Leadership was increased as men, women, and children assumed responsibility for leading meetings, following their training through institutes and conferences at the church. The quality of the Christian lives of leaders was notable in home and community.

Church support consisted in giving to the Liu Chia Ho church regularly on Sunday night, and support of the Kien Yang church of which they were a branch. It further included a project where local church members rented and tilled land to raise money toward a church building.

The value of human life was stressed in all parents' meetings, literacy classes, and church activities as working with God. Achievements were seen in a challenge to superstitions which threatened life, in improved children's diets resulting in improved behavior, in preventing diseases through inoculations and vaccinations, and in following maternity welfare teachings to prevent death of new-born infants.

Respect for personality was increased to the extent that harsh treatment of wives was on the decline, selling of wives was challenged by college students, and the child was recognized as an individual.

Social intercourse was accomplished widely through the celebration of festivals. This enlarged vision as people became acquainted with more people and learned new ways of living. It further resulted in changed relationships between some husbands and wives who established a new custom of attending functions together and exhibiting at Farm and Home Week the products of their cooperative labor.

Wholesome social, educational, and religious recreation tended to replace gambling as a way of celebrating festivals.

Old enmities were erased as families who had not spoken to each other for ten years worked together for the public good.

## Chapter 5

## EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES IN THE SERVICE PROGRAM

Persons who used the facilities of the Rural Service Station and the community centers were undergraduate and graduate students from colleges, universities, and seminaries; professional, educational, religious, and government leaders; administrators from any of these fields and lay persons interested in rural reconstruction. The evidence that the program had value for these groups as it is presented in this section came from the formal records of students who received academic credit, from reports made by the students on their return to their colleges, and from letters of casual visitors concerned with rural improvement.

## THE OPPORTUNITIES IN THE RESEARCH UNDERTAKINGS

Six students secured research experience and data for their respective studies through participating in this service-research program. During the three-year period each of these students who had specialized in medicine, sociology, or child guidance, undertook a specific project within the research program. They had experience in gathering research material while they participated in the six-weeks' summer program. Such things were learned as how to approach families to secure information, how to record data on the check lists, how to record family and community happenings which contributed to the case studies, how to record and organize the health and medical data gathered through physical examinations and clinical service, and finally how to organize the data which they had recorded to meet their own academic requirements.

Two medical students of West China Union University partici-



pated in the health and social service work. They had practice in organizing the information they had recorded from physical examinations, inoculations, and clinical service that contributed to their own learning. They fulfilled their academic requirement, and they gave information to the medical college from which they came and direction to the service program. These findings have been incorporated in the present study among the student reports.

Four Ginling College girls learned to gather information under supervision. One of their own professors of child guidance advised with two of them in planning and carrying through the studies on preschool children. They recorded on check lists information regarding the nutrition and behavior of the children in the respective nursery schools which they conducted and they wrote significant items about the children which added to family case studies. These were later organized for their A.B. theses. A third student supervised by one of the research teams secured information regarding the relation between housing and behavior which was published as a monograph of the National Education Bureau of Publications. A fourth student was guided by her sociology professor at the college and supervised by one of the research staff as she gathered data in connection with the adult literacy class project for which she was responsible in Ling Chia Hua Yuan. She learned to gather information directly from people as she visited in their homes, to record it on a check list after returning to her room and to record any other items in family relationships which she observed or heard about. She further learned to cull from family histories such information as illuminated the family and community relationships and to take advantage of any special rites for whatever they might reveal of family relationships. An example of this was the funeral ceremonies of the matriarch of the clan, which she attended with the research worker. She later organized this material into her A.B. thesis as well as contributing data to the present study.

Professors were enabled to compare methods of research through directing student participation. Professors of sociology and child guidance at Ginling College directed the students in planning their research studies at the college before they went to the rural centers and assisted them in evaluating the research methods and materials on their return to college. These professors gained less than the one who went with the students, living in the Rural Service Station for

the six-weeks' vacation period and giving them weekly supervision in the rural centers. The latter professor was able to compare the validity and accuracy of information gathered as a participant observer over a period of service, with the usual method employed by the college of visiting families on one occasion to gather information on family relationships. By direct contact with the research she was able to help her students in their week-by-week gathering of data, and to see the significance of relationships which improved her teaching in the classroom.

A few professors and church leaders by their visits gained knowledge of research methods for use in their own research work through a study of research files. Files made available to them for study consisted of copies of the check lists, temporary findings which had been organized to direct the service program, and evaluative reports of service projects. The professors studied them to evaluate the methods for continued use with students, and the church leaders for use in the programs of research which they were planning.

Students learned little or nothing of research through visiting. Even when accompanied by their professors they did not gain much since they lacked the experiential background for evaluating either the research instruments or the service program through which information was gathered.

#### THE OPPORTUNITIES IN THE SERVICE ACTIVITIES

*Thirty-three students took responsibility in a service project during the summer or winter vacation period. They learned something of the needs for which service was given, how to render acceptable service to rural families, how to work in an ongoing church program, and how to evaluate the service rendered.*

The students who participated in the service program during the three-year period came from the five Christian universities and two theological seminaries located in Chengtu. Specialized students in sociology had opportunity to lead community gatherings of an educational and recreational sort such as exhibits and dramatic programs. They had practice with the 4H Clubs and taught adult literacy classes. Medical students had practice with the staff health worker in giving physical examinations and inoculations and clinical service. Seminary students had practice in teaching religious education and in conducting worship services for different age

levels. Students of child guidance who took responsibility for nursery schools had practice for their later positions in war orphanages.

*All of these students learned first-hand of the needs of rural people.* The need for literacy, which was much talked about, gained reality as the students tried to help rural women to learn to read and write. The discovery of such a need as that of status for women came as a great shock to city-bred students. One student was fired to work to change conditions when she learned that a man had sold his wife with the approval and connivance of other members of the community. Students called attention to the fact that present civic laws do not give a man power to sell his wife, and that such conduct was incompatible with modern China's ideals. Medical students were appalled by the prevalency of preventable diseases such as those resulting from malnutrition, trachoma, smallpox, and typhoid. Seminary students saw personality marred and life threatened by outmoded beliefs and customs. An example of this was the expiation for the death of her husband and son by a woman who continued on a restricted diet for many years, a procedure resulting in ill health and a useless life.

The group of students tried various methods for helping people to meet their needs. Through adult education classes and parent education, they helped to provide status for women, and through pre-parental training in the 4H Club they helped to build status for women and girls of the future. Medical students gave clinical service and inoculations; medical and child guidance students were instrumental in encouraging parents to provide more adequate diet and rest for their preschool children. All the students including those from the seminary tried to help people to expand their religious views and to substitute an active positive faith for a negative destructive concept of religion.

The student group had the privilege of working with staff members, church leaders, and professors in planning the work and of taking responsibility for a project with these leaders available as resource people. To some extent they were able to measure the results of service at the close of the project.

*Seven professors became familiar with the service program through participation and others through sponsoring the work of their own students in it.* They either made unique contributions or



shared with the staff in the ongoing program of service. Those who approved this work in fulfillment of the national requirement for student community service, took varying degrees of responsibility for the student activities. These ranged from mere acceptance of the field report to active participation in the field supervision of the students. Two professors taught and planned with local rural leaders and students in preparation for summer work. From the local leaders they learned of specific needs and attempted in a realistic way to help the people gain new learnings with which to meet their needs. They led students in utilizing local products in their work. They learned of the limited knowledge people had about their country and their responsibility as citizens of a republic. Through community gatherings with the use of maps, pictures, and lectures, they helped to expand that knowledge.

*Eleven church leaders participated with students and staff in studying the needs of people in the rural centers.* Three secretaries of the National Christian Council reported the special educational opportunities they had found in the service-research program. They recognized the need for specialized methods and literature for rural churches, discovered some new methods which they recommended to other churches. During their visits at the center they stayed with the staff in the home of one of the families, and visited homes of the cooperating families. Each of the three secretaries selected certain activities in which he found particular opportunity. The secretary of the home department followed up her contacts as judge of exhibits at Farm and Home Week with extended home visits which brought out the comparison and contrast in the family relationships of West China and those with which she was familiar in other parts of China.

The general secretary who participated in a local festival shared the folk ways of the rural people, observed the conditions under which they lived, listened to their reports of the improvement they were making with the varied services of the program for children, youth, and adults. He became convinced of the essential and basic nature of the home and family work in the program of the rural church. The secretary who assisted the staff in its annual evaluation studied the process of building community service for the church program based on the needs discovered in local families. These



various learnings were made available through extension to other church leaders. Two secretaries of religious education of the Methodist Church worked with students in both centers to plan for rural youth in the conference program. Through sharing in rural service with the college students, the secretaries learned more about student needs, interests, and abilities and were better prepared to work with them and to provide meaningful church activities for them in Chengtu. The principal of the West China Mothercraft School through work with the university students saw opportunities to which she later took her own students, supervising their work. Three missionaries worked with the students both in the station and the rural centers in winter vacation projects. An example of their work is given. One missionary and some students took responsibility for exhibits of toys and daily demonstration of the use of toys and games in actual play by children who visited the general exhibits and program during the China New Year season. These new techniques were later introduced into the city church program under her supervision and into classroom methodology. One seminary professor experienced in rural work made a valuable contribution to the people of one rural center, as he lived with them for a few days, learned their problems, and talked with them about the expansion of their program to meet their own needs.

Thirty youth institute members meeting in Kien Yang were prepared for their observation in a rural center by a discussion of specific ways in which Christians might express patriotism. Following the observation trip with their leaders, the young people cited various pieces of rural service which they hoped to help carry through in the future, indicative of the inspiration and information about rural service which they had derived from their visit. Such church groups as seventy lay and clerical leaders of the Chengtu District Conference of the Methodist Church and a Sunday School Training Institute with twenty-two members purposely met in Kien Yang so that members could visit the rural centers and observe a service program, parts of which might be applicable to their own programs of work.

*Government leaders saw new opportunities for their services to rural people. The secretary of the county Agriculture Extension Bureau who came to judge the goats of the 4H Club boys taught them*

how to judge their goats, counseling with a few of their elected leaders and through these efforts he developed new methods for extension service for training the farmers of the future. The doctor and his attendant from the county Public Health Bureau who gave physical examinations and inoculations in preparation for the Children's Health Contest recognized the need of rural people for health service, responsibility of the Health Bureau for service to rural people, and a feasible method for rendering the service. A teacher with a selected group of war orphanage pupils visited one rural center to learn how the children of that school served their community. They learned of the goat project, the toy-making and children's clothing projects and saw the nursery school where some girls assisted the teacher, and learned how the children made a contribution to community recreation. They returned to put their learnings to useful work in their own community. The staff of the local Hsiang school requested a demonstration by the pupils of the Kang Chia Ho school so that they might learn how to conduct the extra-curricular activities required by the government. They had demonstrations of children presiding at a meeting, children giving a patriotic talk for opening of school from government-prepared material, singing, and games. All of these methods were new learnings for this rural school staff.

A total of more than three hundred persons who visited the service station program during three years included many casual visitors. Bus repairs delayed some of them from a half day to several days, since this was the first bus station from Chengtu. Bishops and general secretaries of church bodies as well as many other church leaders visited a longer or shorter time. Educational leaders ranged from teachers to university presidents. Government inspectors from various Bureaus took a visit to a rural center as a holiday trip as did many who spent vacations in Kien Yang. All of them gained some information about rural life and a family-centered program of reconstruction, a little understanding of rural needs and methods of rural service. These visitors and participants enjoyed educational opportunities.

*Staff members improved their service and research work as a result of the help and advice from professors and students in the field. From the varied points of view of the many visitors they*

expanded their understanding of the needs of rural people, and developed personally. The unflagging zeal of students in the service program inspired staff members to greater efforts. The courage of students as they challenged some custom or superstition gave new faith to the staff that eventually basic and permanent changes in family relationships would result. Staff members grew in their basic philosophy of rural service. Some who had been convinced that preaching was the one acceptable mode of church work came to recognize the efficacy of the service program in helping people to live more Christlike lives and to lead their family and friends to do so. Others whose faith had been in social service only, found a need for deepening their own spiritual lives in order to help people at the deepest levels of their lives.

### *Summary*

#### *Research*

Six college students who utilized opportunities in the research program were majors in sociology, child guidance, and medicine. They supplemented the major research and three of them gathered material on which they wrote their A.B. theses.

One professor in residence, one through visits and others through correspondence, directed their students in research conducted by the Rural Service Station.

#### *Service*

Thirty-three college and university students participated in the service program vacation periods during the three years. They learned of the needs of the people, how to render service, and how to evaluate their own work.

Seven professors became familiar with rural life through sponsoring their students in the service-research program and through leadership participation in the program.

Eleven church leaders who participated in the service program included two secretaries of religious education, three secretaries of the National Christian Council, the principal of a Mothercraft School, three missionaries, and one seminary professor.

Government leaders who saw new opportunities for service to rural people through participating in or visiting the service work included the secretary of the county agricultural bureau, the doctor from the public bureau, and teachers from the war orphanage and the *hsiang* higher primary school.

Three hundred casual visitors who observed the rural program in operation included thirty youth in attendance at an institute, seventy church leaders in attendance at district conferences, and many other church and government leaders who visited for a half day to several days.

Staff members gained insight and new courage and constantly expanded their programs from working with students and leaders in service and research.





# *Book* III

## RESEARCH TOOLS AND TECHNIQUES



# *Chapter 1*

## THE MAJOR TOOL FOR INVESTIGATING FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

The history of rural reconstruction had shown the effectiveness of a family-centered program for bringing about desired changes in behavior within the family and among the families of a community. It had also indicated the effectiveness of approaching the family through the preschool child, and the writer's personal experience with rural Chinese family life had convinced her that this would be true. Many service groups were seeking to understand the preschool child and the relationships within the family and between families which influenced his development. These relationships were considered of strategic importance for three reasons. The Chinese family was wholeheartedly interested in the young children and would therefore be likely to respond to any program in their behalf. Furthermore, the improvements which would be made in behalf of young children would tend to carry over to the whole family. Finally the young children would soon be parents and would tend to establish in their own families the improved relationships. Therefore, a major tool for investigating family relationships was needed. During a year of study at Cornell University such a working tool was devised under the direction of professors in rural education, social psychology, child development, and family relationships. It was devised as a check list and it was based upon the writer's twenty years of experience with rural families in North China.

### DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHECK LIST

As a first step in the preparation of the tool, all the relationships observed and remembered were listed, both those which character-



ize Chinese families of all sorts and those which differentiate one family from another. The families considered were from the North, particularly the large clan family with several generations living together, including grandparents and great-grandparents to the fourth, fifth, and even sixth generation, aunts, uncles and cousins of these several generations. Since there would not be time to study in detail all of the many relationships in this large family system, those were selected which affect the young child most directly. These immediate relationships between family members were found to cluster around the young child and his adults, between his parents as husband and wife, and between them and the older members of the big family. The following classification resulted including fifty-four relationships; twenty-six for the young child and his adults, fifteen for his parents as husband and wife, and thirteen for the younger and older adults in his family.

*Relationships between the preschool child and his adults*

1. Value of the sons to the family
2. Value of daughters to the family
3. Attitude of the family in regard to the child's fears
4. Attitudes developed by the family through stories told to the child
5. Attitudes expressed by his adults in giving directions
6. Attitudes of the family toward the young child when a baby arrives
7. Attitudes of his family arising out of the conflicts which are a part of the young child's daily experience
8. Consistency in discipline within the family
9. Consistency in privilege within the family
10. Suitability in discipline within the family
11. Inequality-equality for boys and girls in play
12. Inequality-equality for boys and girls in the use of toys
13. Inequality-equality for boys and girls in food
14. Inequality-equality of boys and girls in punishment
15. Response to difficulty and frustration
16. Eating routine
17. Sleeping routine: retiring time
18. Sleeping routine: distribution of sleep
19. Sleeping routine: amount of sleep
20. Toilet routine: place of toilet
21. Toilet routine: skill in performance
22. Dressing routine: his response to his clothes

23. Dressing routine: his skill in performance
24. Washing routine: regularity in washing
25. Bathing: frequency and regularity
26. Washing and bathing: skill in performance

*Relationships between his parents as husband and wife*

1. Attitude shown in spending the family income
2. Position of wife in earning the family cash income
3. Attitude of parents toward needs of the family as seen in planning and spending the budget
4. Family roles as defined in the location and division of work
5. Relationships revealed in physical care of the children
6. Relationships seen in guidance and discipline of the children
7. Companionship disclosed in the use of the leisure time
8. Domination-submission relationship—husband toward his wife
9. Husband's interest in his wife as a person
10. Husband's discipline of his wife
11. Conflict between husband and wife
12. Domination-submission relationship—wife to husband
13. Wife's interest in husband as a person
14. Sexual satisfaction—wife's attitude<sup>7a</sup>
15. Sexual satisfaction—husband's attitude<sup>7a</sup>

*Relationships between the older and younger generations of adults*

1. The family head controls all money earned by any family member
2. Control of family property
3. Transactions of property
4. Management of family commissary
5. Family control of education
6. Elders' regulation of the affairs of the grandchildren
7. Mother-in-law dominance of daughter-in-law in requiring "respectful" behavior
8. Mother-in-law—daughter-in-law relationships in planning of work
9. Consistency of treatment of various daughters-in-law
10. Discipline by the head of family
11. Discipline by mother-in-law
12. Assumption of responsibility—older for younger members of the family
13. Assumption of responsibility—younger for older members of the family

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<sup>7a</sup> Note that numbers 14 and 15 are omitted from The Tool which appear later since they yielded very little information.

For each of these fifty-four relationships a value scale was arranged. Frequently observed behavior from the least desirable to the most desirable was placed on a five-point scale from 0 to 4. Each of these points was described by a statement of behavior observed or reported in Chinese family life. One example is given for each of the three groups of relationships. Under young child and his adults, the second was

2. Value of daughters to the family
  - 0—They look on a daughter as a slave in the family
  - 1—Regard her as of potential economic value in the marriage market
  - 2—Plan to educate her so she can earn money for the family
  - 3—Plan to educate her for her own sake
  - 4—Regard her as a trust and her personality worthy of being developed to the fullest extent

Under relationships between the parents as husband and wife, the eighth was

8. Domination-submission relationship—husband toward his wife
  - 0—He dominates all her actions, allowing her no freedom
  - 1—He allows her to make some decisions which affect only herself
  - 2—He allows her to make decisions which do not affect him (regarding children, etc.)
  - 3—He allows her to make decisions affecting them both (as arrangement of house, etc.)
  - 4—He consults her on practical matters of the home

Under relationships between older and younger generations of adults in the family, the eighth was

8. Mother-in-law—daughter-in-law relationships in planning of work
  - 0—The mother-in-law plans all work and her daughters-in-law merely carry out orders
  - 1—She plans work with the oldest daughter-in-law for the whole household and other daughters-in-law carry out plans
  - 2—She counsels with all daughters-in-law on making plans and allocating the work
  - 3—She allows her daughters-in-law to initiate plans and carry them through
  - 4—She asks advice of her daughters-in-law in planning and allocating work

## FUNCTIONS OF THE CHECK LIST IN THE PROGRAM

*As a Teaching Instrument*

The check list was planned for use by a number of investigators, more or less experienced in gathering information and more or less familiar with the variations in rural Chinese family life. It was therefore planned as a teaching instrument to prepare investigators to gather accurate and full information. Also the organization of the check list was planned for the exigencies of visiting in large Chinese families. An investigator is welcomed by a rural family on a personal basis as a friend or trusted helper in family affairs, but is under suspicion as an information gatherer likely to report to the government anything that may involve taxation or conscription.

The check list was planned to suggest to the visitor conversation that would put the family at ease. By talking about familiar affairs she might lead naturally into the intimacies of family life. For example, she might admire the chickens which were clucking about the yard underfoot. This would lead into a talk of who fed and cared for the chickens, how many eggs they gathered, the price they received for the eggs, and who received the money for the eggs. Since money from chickens and eggs frequently belongs to the woman who raises the chickens to spend for herself or children, this would lead naturally into a discussion of the economic justice of the way the women of the family were treated and the relationships with the husband and the elders of the family in general.

*For adequate coverage*

The check list was planned to describe the total area to be covered during successive visits, to call the investigator's attention to the relevant behavior which might otherwise be overlooked or hastily misinterpreted. It was planned also to suggest a timely order of investigation so as to capitalize on present information. For example, when a wife volunteered information on the domination-submission scale, reporting that her husband dominated her and allowed her no freedom, the investigator might try to lead the conversation toward further relationship of husband and wife to ascertain in what ways the wife reacted to her husband to get even with him.



*To gain insight*

The check list was planned as an aid in developing the investigator's insight into family relationships, suggesting possible cues to significant behavior so that she might become alert to see or hear it on occasion and to interpret it as a lead to relationships. For example, the suggestion to note any comments by either generation of women about mother-and-daughter relationships would tend to make the investigator alert to any indications of desire for kindly treatment or frustration from the lack of it.

The check list was planned for gathering information of a similar nature from several families in the community. This would reveal common needs for service and differentiate families according to needs. It makes it possible to plan to serve all groups and to compare the conditions in one community with those in other communities. For example, the check on families in any community might reveal a high number of husbands and wives who spent leisure time together only in family or clan feasts. If conditions in other communities reveal the same situation, there is indicated the need for more activities which bring various families together, and for new types of gatherings not bound by old regulations which can be attended by husband and wife together.

*As a frame of reference*

Finally the check list was planned to provide a frame of reference under which to organize the variety of information to be assembled under any relationship and to relate the different relationships into patterns of family and community life as a basis for program building and as a base level from which to measure improvement.

This tool, planned on the knowledge and experience from North China as an education and research tool was used in the service-research program of the Kien Yang project in rural reconstruction.

THE MAJOR TOOL<sup>8</sup> FOR INVESTIGATING FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

## I. Relationships between the preschool child and his adults

## 1. Value of the sons to the family

- o—They regard a son merely as a link in the family chain, no value on his own

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<sup>8</sup> This check list was designed to be used at different times during a period of three years. A different check was used each time. — — the first time; O the second time; X — the third time.

- 1—Regard him as an economic asset increasing the working strength of the family and potential economic security for his parents in their old age
  - 2—Regard him as an economic asset but assume responsibility of giving the best education possible for the glory of the family
  - 3—Feel responsible for giving him an education for his own sake
  - 4—Regard the highest development of his personality as the greatest enhancement to family life
2. Value of daughters to the family
- 0—They look on a daughter as a slave in the family
  - 1—Regard her as of potential economic value in the marriage market
  - 2—Plan to educate her so she can earn money for the family
  - 3—Plan to educate her for her own sake
  - 4—Regard her as a trust and her personality worthy of being developed to the fullest extent
3. Attitude of the family in regard to the child's fears
- 0—Adults develop fears as a means of punishment or to quiet the child when he cries
  - 1—They share fears with children and tell them stories to show the validity of evil spirits
  - 2—They punish a child for crying from fear and annoying adults
  - 3—They laugh at his fears and disregard them
  - 4—They use guidance to prevent fear and to remove existing fears
4. Attitudes developed by the family through stories told to the child
- 0—Adults tell Chinese nursery rhymes or stories involving huge absurdities, cruelties, ghostly evil spirits, etc.
  - 1—They tell folk tales based on obscenity or elimination
  - 2—They tell stories of heroes who achieved by outwitting others
  - 3—They tell stories of truth and reality of the child's daily life
  - 4—They tell moral and ethical stories especially about filial piety; world folk lore; Christian stories
5. Attitudes expressed by his adults in giving directions
- 0—Adult expresses himself in veiled sarcasm and the child responds to the unkind tone of voice
  - 1—Adult expresses his own tension and strain in expletives and other emotional language and the child responds to the angry tone of voice

- 2—Adult states directions to the child negatively in terms of prohibitions and threats
- 3—Adult states directions in terms the child cannot understand or for undertakings too hard for him to carry out
- 4—Adult states simple positive directions the child can understand and carry out
6. Attitudes of the family toward the young child when a baby arrives
  - 0—Adults reject him obviously in favor of the baby
  - 1—They apparently accept him but favor the baby enough so that he has serious behavior difficulties
  - 2—They include him in their affections sufficiently so that he adjusts without serious damage to his personality
  - 3—They succeed in making him feel secure enough to adjust with only moderate difficulty
  - 4—They help him understand that he is loved so that he accepts happily the new role and cooperates as he is able
7. Attitudes of his family arising out of the conflicts which are a part of the young child's daily experience
  - 0—Adults give vent to anger in scolding and beating both adults and children
  - 1—They quarrel seriously and get so violently angry that they frighten the child
  - 2—They quarrel frequently but not seriously enough to frighten him
  - 3—They quarrel occasionally but seldom to a serious degree
  - 4—They settle their conflicts peacefully
8. Consistency in discipline within the family
  - 0—His adults are inconsistent at times punishing and at times ignoring or laughing at any conduct
  - 1—They regularly punish whatever annoys them
  - 2—They usually punish when they are angry or not feeling well, but not when they are in good humor
  - 3—They ignore or pay little attention to what the child does
  - 4—They are consistent in making the same consequence follow any certain conduct, whether punishment or reward
9. Consistency in privilege within the family<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> For greater accuracy, it is desirable to indicate frequency by means of a rating in terms of seldom or never (S), occasionally (O), usually or regularly (R).

- 0—Adults are inconsistent, sometimes they grant privileges, and at others withhold them
  - 1—They grant privilege on the basis of emotions or preference for the child
  - 2—They allow all the children to follow their own desires
  - 3—They are consistent in granting or withholding privileges regardless of the age and development of the child
  - 4—They differentiate on the basis of age and development of the child and are flexible within reasonable limits
10. Suitability in discipline within the family
- 0—Adults beat the children with abandon when angry at someone else
  - 1—They beat the child when angry for some offense he has committed
  - 2—They scold the child when angry
  - 3—They control their own emotions when correcting the child
  - 4—They use constructive methods to discipline the child
11. Inequality-equality for boys and girls in play
- 0—Parents give the young boys freedom to play in the yard but consider it unseemly for girls to play
  - 1—They permit boys freedom to play and limit play for girls
  - 2—They take both boys and girls to attend some feasts with them but the girls stay with their mothers on the women's side, while the boys may go anywhere
  - 3—Boys and girls have equal freedom for play in the home yard
  - 4—They allow boys and girls equal freedom to play anywhere
12. Inequality-equality for boys and girls in the use of toys
- 0—Adults take toys from girls and give them to boys of the same age
  - 1—Permit girls to play with toys when boys don't want them
  - 2—Allow boys and girls to play equally when a double set of toys is available
  - 3—Allow boys and girls equal toys to play with or help them to take turns with common toys
  - 4—Give equal opportunity for play through guidance of adults
13. Inequality-equality for boys and girls in food
- 0—Mother nurses an older brother at her breast while baby sister is skimped of milk
  - 1—Adults give boys the best food at the table and sisters less good food



- 2—They give only to boys the dainties or food between meals or coppers to buy food
  - 3—Give to boys regularly extra food or money to buy food and sometimes to girls
  - 4—Give to boys and girls equally food at the table, food between meals, or coppers to buy food
14. Inequality-equality of boys and girls in punishment
- 0—Adults punish girls but not boys for the same behavior
  - 1—They always punish girls and sometimes boys for the same behavior
  - 2—They beat girls and only scold boys for the same behavior
  - 3—They scold both boys and girls for the same behavior
  - 4—They use the same guidance for boys and girls in dealing with the same behavior

Items 15 to 26 inclusive are stated in terms of the child's responses to the family behavior as it affects him.

15. Response to difficulty and frustration
- 0—The child tends to respond emotionally to difficulties
  - 1—He tends to respond emotionally but occasionally he will accept guidance
  - 2—Although he spontaneously responds emotionally he will respond to guidance offered
  - 3—He responds to guidance and sometimes he finds independently some feasible way of meeting the difficulty
  - 4—He tends to figure out feasible and effective ways to meet difficulties and frustration
16. Eating routine
- 0—The child eats any time he is hungry and demands it
  - 1—He eats when given food but he has no regular meal times
  - 2—He eats irregularly whenever the family eats
  - 3—He has one regular meal a day and the other food is irregular
  - 4—He has all of his meals at regular times
17. Sleeping routine: retiring time
- 0—The child falls asleep wherever he is and is later put into bed
  - 1—He retires irregularly independent of adult retiring hours
  - 2—He retires with adult which is at irregular times
  - 3—He has a regular time for retiring although his adults may be irregular
  - 4—He has a regular time of retiring different from that of his adults

18. Sleeping routine: distribution of sleep
  - 0—He drops off to sleep frequently during the day
  - 1—He sleeps irregular amounts at night and has irregular naps
  - 2—He sleeps regular amounts at night but has irregular naps
  - 3—He sleeps regular amounts at night and has no nap
  - 4—He sleeps regularly both at night and at nap
19. Sleeping routine: amount of sleep
  - 0—He sleeps but his family has no idea how much
  - 1—He sleeps 6 to 7 hours as a rule
  - 2—He sleeps 8 to 9 hours as a rule
  - 3—He sleeps 10 to 11 hours as a rule
  - 4—He sleeps 12 hours or more
20. Toilet routine: place
  - 0—He eliminates anywhere
  - 1—He goes to the yard to defecate and he urinates in house
  - 2—He has both eliminations outside the house
  - 3—He goes regularly to the toilet to defecate
  - 4—Goes regularly to the toilet for both eliminations
21. Toilet routine: skill in performance
  - 0—He eliminates whenever he feels like it
  - 1—He eliminates when taken
  - 2—He goes by himself when reminded but needs help with his clothing
  - 3—He goes independently but needs help with his clothing
  - 4—He goes independently and cares for his own clothes at toilet
22. Dressing routine: his response to his clothes<sup>10</sup>
  - 0—He feels comfortably protected from weather
  - 1—He enjoys clean clothing, underwear, and bib or apron
  - 2—He moves freely in his clothing and enjoys being active
  - 3—He can put on and take off his garments
  - 4—He can button and unbutton them
23. Dressing routine: his skill in performance<sup>10</sup>
  - 0—He shows interest in taking off and putting on his clothing
  - 1—He takes initiative in trying to participate in dressing and undressing
  - 2—He performs with gross-motor skill in putting on and taking off garments

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<sup>10</sup> May check for frequency as No. 9.

- 3—He performs with fine-motor skill in buttoning and unbuttoning his garments
- 4—He continues to success the various details of dressing and undressing
- 24. Washing routine: regularity in washing
  - 0—He does not wash regularly every day
  - 1—He washes regularly once a day
  - 2—Washes occasionally before meals in addition to morning washing
  - 3—Washes regularly before meals and occasionally after using toilet in addition to morning washing
  - 4—Washes regularly in morning and before meals and following use of toilet
- 25. Bathing: frequency and regularity
  - 0—He bathes seldom or never
  - 1—Bathes once a week or fortnight during warm weather
  - 2—Bathes more than once a week during warm weather
  - 3—Bathes daily in summer and occasionally in winter
  - 4—Bathes regularly all the year round
- 26. Washing and bathing: skill in performance<sup>11</sup>
  - 0—He shows interest in the washing and bathing activities
  - 1—He takes initiative in trying to participate in washing and bathing
  - 2—He performs with gross-motor skill in the movements of washing
  - 3—He performs with fine-motor skill in getting clean behind the ears, between the toes, etc.
  - 4—He continues to success in the whole process of washing and bathing

## II. Relationships between his parents as husband and wife

- 1. Attitude shown in spending the family income
  - 0—The husband or elders have all the money and they purchase all commodities used
  - 1—The wife is allowed a few dollars a year pin money to spend as she desires but all commodities are purchased by husband or elders
  - 2—The wife is allowed money and given responsibility for purchasing her own and the children's clothing, but the husband or the elders handle all the rest

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<sup>11</sup> May check for frequency as No. 9

- 3—The husband and wife plan together for the budget. The wife accounts to her husband for expenditures but her husband makes no account to his wife.
  - 4—The husband and wife plan together for the budget, and they share responsibility for purchasing, both keeping careful accounts
2. Position of wife in earning the family cash income
    - 0—The wife earns nothing toward the cash income of the family
    - 1—The wife earns cash income which she contributes to a common budget which the husband disburses
    - 2—The wife earns and spends part of her earnings, accounting to her husband for her expenditures
    - 3—She earns and spends as she sees fit without accounting
    - 4—She earns and she and her husband consult together on expenditures from their combined earnings.
  3. Attitude of parents toward needs of the family as seen in planning and spending the budget
    - 0—The husband spends freely with no consideration for the total needs of the family
    - 1—The wife spends freely with no consideration for the total needs of the family
    - 2—The husband and wife plan together for the budget, but the husband constantly overspends
    - 3—The husband and wife plan together for the budget, but the wife constantly overspends
    - 4—The husband and wife plan together for the budget, and both strictly adhere to it
  4. Family roles as defined in the location and division of work
    - 0—The wife does work inside the house, the husband does work outside of house
    - 1—The wife obediently does outside work, but the husband never does anything inside the house
    - 2—The husband or wife under necessity and unhappily does some work either inside or outside the house recognized as the other's tasks
    - 3—The husband does happily certain tasks inside the house, at the same time the wife does certain tasks happily outside the house
    - 4—The husband and wife share, both inside and outside the house, according to time, strength, and interest for the work



5. Relationships revealed in physical care of the children
  - 0—The wife takes all the care of the children, the husband takes none at all
  - 1—The husband is responsible for boys over ten, the wife is responsible for boys under ten and all girls
  - 2—The husband takes responsibility for boys after the next baby is born and the wife for all girls
  - 3—The husband cares for little children for certain hours each day
  - 4—The husband and wife share in the care of the children
6. Relationships seen in guidance and discipline of the children
  - 0—The father disciplines the children, the mother has no voice at all
  - 1—The father disciplines or guides sons, the mother the girls
  - 2—The mother disciplines or guides all small children and girls and the father disciplines or guides boys over ten
  - 3—The mother disciplines or guides all small children, father guides all children over ten
  - 4—The husband and wife agree on the guidance of all the children, and share equally the responsibility for guidance and for discipline as occasion arises
7. Companionship disclosed in the use of leisure time
  - 0—The husband and wife share no leisure time in the home or out of it
  - 1—The husband and wife share some leisure time with the family clan (as when there are guests, feasting or festival times)
  - 2—The husband and wife read or sing together in their own rooms
  - 3—The husband and wife go out together to church or school meetings (these being considered essential meetings)
  - 4—The husband and wife attend entertainments together
8. Domination-submission relationship—husband toward his wife
  - 0—He dominates all her actions, allowing her no freedom
  - 1—He allows her to make some decisions which affect only herself
  - 2—He allows her to make decisions which do not affect him (regarding children, etc.)
  - 3—He allows her to make decisions affecting them both (as arrangement of house, etc.)
  - 4—He consults her on practical matters of the home

9. Husband's interest in his wife as a person
  - 0—He ignores her completely
  - 1—He takes note of her only for physical needs (such as preparing food)
  - 2—He gives her some attention and consideration (such as having wood and water supply ready for use)
  - 3—He respects her opinion
  - 4—He delights in her company
10. Husband's discipline of his wife
  - 0—He ignores her completely and obviously
  - 1—He beats her when angry
  - 2—He ignores many smaller problems and settles important ones on the merit of the case
  - 3—He uses kindly guidance and assumes responsibility for her conduct
  - 4—He assumes she is adult and responsible for herself
11. Conflict between husband and wife
  - 0—They quarrel several times a day
  - 1—They quarrel once a day as a rule
  - 2—They quarrel a few times a month
  - 3—They quarrel only when bills are paid (once or twice a year)
  - 4—They almost never quarrel
12. Domination-submission relationship—wife to husband
  - 0—She has temper tantrums or hysterics, or goes on hunger strikes to control husband
  - 1—Finds ways to make him "lose face" before family and friends
  - 2—Ignores his tastes (in food, laundering, etc.)
  - 3—Voluntarily tries to please him in the home
  - 4—Finds ways to exalt him before his family and friends
13. Wife's interest in husband as a person
  - 0—She fears him and gives absolute obedience
  - 1—She fears him and finds ways to deceive him
  - 2—She consults him and adheres to his advice
  - 3—She gives thoughtful attention to his wishes and desires
  - 4—She enjoys husband and his company and tries to make him happy

### III. Relationships between the older and younger generation of adults

1. The family head controls all money earned by any family member

- o—All the money earned by any member of the family is turned into the family budget which the head of the family arbitrarily disburses for commodities, property, and education of whole family
  - 1—All money earned by anyone, after money for his individual living is deducted, is turned into the family budget and arbitrarily disbursed by the head of the family
  - 2—All the money earned is turned into the family budget. Whoever earns has a voice in the total expenditure of the family budget
  - 3—All the money earned is turned into the family budget. All sons and grandsons over 15 years have a voice in planning expenditures
  - 4—All the money earned is turned into the family budget. A family council of sons, daughters, daughters-in-law, grandsons, their wives, et al, decide on disbursements
2. Control of family property
- o—All property is held in common, and all live in the old family home; and the head of the family allocates rooms to each single family unit as the occasion arises
  - 1—The property is controlled by consultation of all sons of the oldest generation
  - 2—The property is divided and each son of the oldest generation holds his property and share of the family houses for his sons and their families
  - 3—The property is controlled by consultation of all adult members of the family
  - 4—The property is divided so that each single unit family has control of its property and houses
3. Transactions of property
- o—The head of the family arbitrarily buys and sells family property
  - 1—The head of the family discusses proposals for buying or selling property with his wife and oldest son
  - 2—The head of the family consults with his wife and eldest son and his wife
  - 3—The head of the family and his wife, eldest son and his wife and other adult sons make decisions
  - 4—Family council of old and young, male and female, decides on transfer of property

4. Management of family commissary
  - 0—The family commissary is run by all for all and all eat together
  - 1—Food is all cooked together but each family eats in its own rooms
  - 2—Family food supply is all together, each large family unit receives its own share for its own home
  - 3—Each son with his sons and their wives and children conduct a separate commissary
  - 4—Each single family unit manages its own commissary
5. Family control of education
  - 0—The head of the family makes all decisions arbitrarily concerning the education of the family—selection of schools, who shall attend, etc.
  - 1—The head of family and the oldest son make all decisions regarding education of the family
  - 2—The head of family in consultation with parents of children makes decisions regarding education of all members of the family
  - 3—The parents make decision after consulting the heads of the family
  - 4—The parents in consultation with their own children decide on education for the children, and then seek the sanction of the family council
6. Elders' regulation of the affairs of the grandchildren
  - 0—The elders dictate all procedures for care and guidance of the children of their sons and grandsons
  - 1—Elders dictate procedures for the care and guidance of the children of all except the eldest son and grandson
  - 2—The elders allow favorite sons and grandsons to guide their own children but dictate for all others
  - 3—The elders make pronouncement about procedures for the care and guidance of all children of sons and grandsons but allow deviations when good reasons are given for change
  - 4—The elders allow the parents of children to use their own judgment in their care and guidance
7. Mother-in-law dominance of daughter-in-law in requiring "respectful" behavior
  - 0—She requires her daughter-in-law always to stand in her presence



- 1—She requires her daughter-in-law to stand when guests are present
  - 2—She allows her daughter-in-law to sit when she is ill
  - 3—She allows her daughter-in-law to sit when only the immediate family are present
  - 4—She allows her daughter-in-law always to sit in her presence
8. Mother-in-law—daughter-in-law relationships in planning of work
- 0—She plans all work and her daughters-in-law merely carry out orders
  - 1—She plans work with the oldest daughter-in-law for the whole household and other daughters-in-law carry out plans
  - 2—She counsels with all daughters-in-law on making plans and allocating the work
  - 3—She allows her daughters-in-law to initiate plans and carry them through
  - 4—She asks advice of her daughters-in-law in planning and allocating work
9. Consistency of treatment of various daughters-in-law
- 0—The mother-in-law consistently treats each daughter-in-law on the basis of the ordinal position of her husband
  - 1—She consistently treats well those daughters-in-law who came from wealthy families, and treats ill those who came from poor families
  - 2—She consistently shows favoritism to daughters-in-law whom she prefers
  - 3—She treats well those who work well, and treats ill those who do less work
  - 4—She treats each daughter-in-law on the basis of her own personality and the merits of the situation
10. Discipline by the head of family
- 0—He beats or otherwise disciplines all members of the family, both adults and children
  - 1—He disciplines all members of the family not of his own generation
  - 2—He disciplines sons and grandsons, but not daughters or daughters-in-law over fifteen years of age
  - 3—He feels responsible and points out the errors of their ways, but does not punish those over fifteen years of age

- 4—He kindly guides but expects adult behavior from adults
11. Discipline by mother-in-law
  - 0—She disciplines all women and children younger than herself
  - 1—She disciplines all women and children younger than herself except the eldest daughter-in-law
  - 2—She disciplines the daughters-in-law and their children whom she dislikes, and not the daughters-in-law and their children whom she likes
  - 3—She feels responsible and points out errors of their ways, but does not punish those over fifteen years of age
  - 4—She kindly advises but expects adults to be responsible for themselves
12. Assumption of responsibility—older for younger members of the family
  - 0—Elders arrange all marriages with no consultation with the parents of the child concerned
  - 1—They arrange marriage for children after consultation with the parents of the child concerned
  - 2—They arrange marriage after consultation with the child concerned
  - 3—They allow child to make his own arrangements after consultation with parents and elders of the family
  - 4—They allow children to make their own choices with no consultation with parents or elders
13. Assumption of responsibility—younger for older members of the family
  - 0—Younger folk take no responsibility for their elders
  - 1—They care for them when they are ill—providing food, medicine, and nursing
  - 2—They help them with work and provide food grudgingly
  - 3—They mechanically accept responsibility for providing them with food and doing work for them
  - 4—Single unit families happily alternate in taking responsibilities for providing food, doing work, and providing money

### *Summary*

The check list covered the three relationships most vital to the pre-school child, those between the child and his adults, those between his parents as husband and wife, and those between his parents and the older generation around him.

There were 54 categories of relationship and a five-point scale for each from the least acceptable to the most desirable in the judgment of the writer. The points were defined in descriptive terms based upon the writer's extended observation in Chinese family homes.

The check list was planned as a teaching instrument which could be used by a number of investigators with more or less experience in gathering information and more or less familiar with Chinese rural life. It was planned to suggest to the investigator conversation which would put the family at ease, and was arranged to help the investigator mentally organize the information obtained in the confusion of the large clan family gathering.

It was planned to describe the total area to be covered at successive visits so that all areas of relationships would be adequately covered and furthermore to suggest a timely order of investigation so as to capitalize on information volunteered.

It was planned to aid in developing insight on the part of the investigators so that they were ready to note and interpret significant behavior in terms of relationships. It was further planned for gathering information in a way that disclosed common needs and the needs of different groups of persons and of different communities.

Finally it was to provide a frame of reference for organizing the variety of information about relationships as a basis for program and as a base level from which to measure improvement.

# *Chapter 2*      METHODS OF GATHERING RECORDING, & ORGANIZING INFORMATION ABOUT FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

## THE SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The area of investigation was family relationships since the assumption upon which it was based was that improvement in family behavior was an effective way to improve rural community living. The original plan for the research stipulated that thirty families in each community were to be studied for family relationships through a period of three years, and that case studies of a selected number of these families should be recorded. A somewhat larger number of families was chosen at the beginning of the study to allow for loss. Thirty-two families in Liu Chia Ho, and thirty-five in Ling Chia Hua Yuan, were studied during the first year. The three-year period showed completed studies of twenty-four families in the first and twenty-eight families in the second community having been checked on the check list and fairly adequate information regarding ten families in the first, and six in the second community, or a total of sixteen families had been recorded in case studies.

	FAMILIES STUDIED			CASE STUDIES
	CHECK LIST			
	<i>First Year</i>	<i>Second Year</i>	<i>Third Year</i>	
Liu Chia Ho	32	26	24	10
Ling Chia Hua Yuan	35	28	28	6
Totals	67	54	52	16



Two factors largely determined the selection of families. Since the study was on relationships, those families who would yield the widest range of relationships were of primary interest. Consequently, those with preschool children, and when possible with grandparents living in the same family, were selected. All except two families in the first community and one in the second had preschool children at the beginning of the study. The grandparents, however, were scarce in the first community. Ten of the families selected in that community were small unit families consisting of mother, father, and a number of children from preschool age on up. The second factor, that of availability of information, operated in their selection. The families who participated most largely in the service program from the first were those who were most accessible and gave promise of continuing throughout the three years. Furthermore, the service program itself was based on the needs of the people and changed from time to time as the results of the study indicated further or changing needs. Therefore the families selected were, for the most part, those who had children in nursery school, children in day school, youth or young adults in the literacy classes, and parents who were active in the parent education and community programs.

#### EXCERPT FROM THE ORIGINAL PLAN

##### RESEARCH PROGRAM

- I. Family Life Studies—select 30 families each at Liu Chia Ho and Ling Chia Hua Yuan
  - a. Family Relationships—a three-year developmental study
    - 1) Older-younger Generation of Adults
    - 2) Husband-wife
    - 3) Preschool Child and His Adults
  - b. Case Studies of a selected number from above families
  - c. Smythe Family Schedule—test done on 50 families from the above list
  - d. Nutrition—select a limited number of families from above list, and check for one year on daily diet. To be analyzed to ascertain what the diet lacks.

## 2. Community Studies

### a. Social stratification

### b. Social Motility

- 1) Ascertain what has happened to families in the rural communities at this time when large masses of people have moved into the province because of war
  - 2) Attitudes—toward health, education, church, government.
- c. Inter-family Social Distance—branches of the same family and different families. This should reveal allegiances which cut across class and wealth lines.

## THE RESEARCH TEAM

*The permanent research team* consisted of one Chinese and one foreign woman who worked as a unit in visiting and reporting. They were assisted at times by the Chinese woman field worker in one rural center. During one summer vacation they were supplemented by two men and four women college students and by one professor who acted for that period as a member of the research team. Each of the two women gave half time to the research and half time to the service aspects of the program. Each took responsibility for some specific items in the service program and in this capacity spent a part of each week in each of the two communities giving service and gathering information. The Chinese woman sponsored youth work, adult literacy work, and community recreation and, during the first year, supervised the children's educational program. The foreign woman sponsored the nursery school and parent education, the pre-parental training, and various church activities, and during the second year supervised adult literacy work. The field worker in the one community was resident all of the time and took responsibility for the program. The college students were resident in the community which they served, and took responsibility for nursery schools, adult literacy work, and the medical program respectively.

*Women had access to homes* which were often inaccessible to men. Previous experience had revealed that custom did not permit men to call in homes except when men were at home, or to talk with women when they visited. Women might talk with either men or women, especially when women were educated and had the "status of teacher" in the community. Therefore the daily routine

of life was often observable by the women and in conversation with the women of the family, women investigators could gather social, educational, and religious data about the family better than men. Often both positive and negative aspects of economic life were also more accessible to them. Whereas the men might be able to judge crops better than women, the farmer was always suspicious that anyone asking a question about crops or land holdings was a government agent come to appraise the land to levy taxes. His wife often inadvertently disclosed such information. For example, one woman, sorting cotton on the porch, hitched her stool up close to the research woman who was helping her, and in low confidential tones told details about crops and land holdings which could have been learned by no formal questioning. Another woman lamented the situation which required selling off land to make the annual payment on debts at China New Year; she told of the yearly dwindling of their holdings until only a few acres (mou) were left. Information about family quarrels over finances was available to women workers as were also more positive aspects of the economic affairs of the family. The women of the team gained much information about men as they shared the daily work with them and their families and through planning and carrying through with them the service program.

However, there was a certain amount of information about men which could not be secured by women. The men students working in the vacation periods secured more information about male youth than the women were able to obtain. The addition of a skilled research man with rural experience for one or two months a year would have given much additional information on adult men which neither women nor students could secure.

Since experience had shown that rural people thought it unseemly for a woman to visit a home alone unless she was on such intimate terms with the family as to be considered almost a relative, a woman from the Station was always accompanied when she visited a home.

Ping-tzu's parental home was visited in the beginning of the study. Although the foreign worker lived in the home of his grandmother and Big Aunt, they did not feel comfortable at having her visit the parental home three miles away until after changes

had come in it. Ping-tzu's mother and other women of the parental family even classed the Chinese research woman as foreign because she came from another part of China. In the other community where some families had deeply seated prejudices against Christian leaders, these were apt to be attached to the foreign women, although all families were always polite and even confidential to her when the team visited them.

*Workers with college training*, especially in child development and guidance, sociology, and research, made more valuable contributions than those with less specialized training. They were alert to recognize relevant detail observed or reported, to distinguish significant detail, and to relate varied details. In contrast, the field worker who was less well prepared identified herself with the local people and tended to adopt their viewpoint and values to the extent that she lost objectivity. She accepted without question their attitude toward toilet training. She accepted the prejudice of the family with whom she lived toward their old enemies, although she accepted the children of the enemy families without discrimination in the school. The research worker, on the contrary, sought reasons for the enmity and found them in an old inter-family quarrel, the superior attitude of the more literate family, and their bitterness as each year they had to sell their land to the formerly poverty-stricken, neighboring family.

*Experience in research*, as well as training, was found essential in gathering sound data. Only because of such experience could the research workers evaluate their contribution, compare local facts with data found elsewhere, and interpret accordingly. Also by previous experience, they had learned acceptable methods of checking statements by direct or round-about questions to neighbors and friends and by keen alertness to seemingly trivial but relevant incidents or remarks. By rigid rechecking each year all but valid information was eliminated.

#### METHODS OF GATHERING INFORMATION

The research team gathered information about family relationships by observation and by verbal report from community members, and interpreted the information in terms of needs in order that the service program might lead to improving the relationships.



By residing in the community members of the research team were accepted as belonging to the community and were free from the suspicions attached to casual visitors from outside. They were able to establish more permanent relationships with the people and thus secure more intimate information than non-resident workers could do. By living in Ping-tzu's home they heard his grandfather call his Big Aunt before daybreak and command her to get up and start her work. In no other way could they have learned so well the relationships between the older and younger generations of adults and the background of the emotional life in that family. His grandmother had a chance to tell all about her early married life, the birth and death of her children, and the whole story from poverty to affluence. The near neighbor had opportunity to tell how much she appreciated her excellent daughter-in-law and to give details to illustrate her virtues.

Because the college students and a staff member were living in the second community they were the first outside-of-clan people to attend a funeral of the clan. They were able to gather from observation first-hand information of the part of women and children in the funeral, to study the clan books of funeral ceremonial rites, and to hear various members of the community tell of changes in funeral customs as the clan declined economically. They thus learned incidentally from clan members more about the economic decline of the clan which observation of decaying and unpainted beautiful buildings had disclosed.

*The role of "teacher"* acquired through participation in the service program gave the research workers an entrée to all homes of the community and made possible visiting many homes over and over to expand and check the data. A research worker could make many visits as teacher of various members of a family, the preschool child, his siblings, his parents and even his grandparents. In her capacity of adviser to 4H Clubs she visited in a home to secure cooperation of parents in the home project and again to see whether or not it had been carried through. She visited the same family in connection with youth work and the adult literacy program, and every week she made a brief visit to each family of the nursery school children to remind them of parents' meetings. All families in the community were visited by the teacher to invite

them to participate in such public gatherings as Children's Festival and China New Year. These frequent visits under varying conditions gave the worker opportunity to check her observations and reports for accuracy and, over a period of years, to accumulate an adequate array of detail. It was learned both by observation and word of mouth, that many items of information recorded the first year were inaccurate, and these mistakes were corrected.

*Shared work in home and field* removed restraint and gave opportunity to gather intimate knowledge of family relationships under natural conditions. Observation of a whole family working together told something of relationships not learned by talking about them. Conversation was free from restraint. While they gathered sweet potatoes, one husband could freely and naturally talk of the economic value to his family of a wife from the Tribes who knew how to manage affairs, and on another occasion talk as freely of the joy of sharing life when the whole family was Christian. During another period of shared work, his wife discussed plans for the first Christian wedding in their family and community. As men and women shared work in the field, both contributed to information about relationships between members of the whole family by what they told and by the way they acted.

*Informal conversation* was the method used for bringing out new information. Since the investigation had to do with the fabric of daily life, the introduction of a new topic by the investigator had the informality of a continuing conversation. Such conversation usually brought a wealth of eager response about things dearest to the heart of the women and children of a family. For example, the mention of a favorite dish common to the community often brought forth prolonged discussion with a wealth of detail regarding relationships. The member of the family who was noted for preparing it, where she had learned the skill, who performed the labor in preparation, who gave the finishing touches, and who got the credit. All such nuances of relationships were spontaneously revealed. No publicity was given the research work. It had been found in other communities that wide publicity which had been aimed at winning cooperation had made the rural people suspect the research workers of being government agents. The government notice asking the cooperation of local people for re-

search in another community had alarmed the farmers lest a new conscription for labor was to be made and false answers were prepared before the arrival of the investigators. In the present study suspicion was avoided by the informal and inconspicuous method of inquiry, and by delaying the recording of the information until after the visit in the home or field.

#### METHODS OF RECORDING INFORMATION FOR VALIDITY AND ACCURACY

*Information was recorded after returning home*, and because the conversation was natural, and free from suspicion, it had validity. This method, while important for validity, curtailed the accuracy. To offset this, the two workers recorded together and were able to check each other for accuracy. An example was in learning which children belong to which mother in the Wei family. On the first visit to that household, seven mothers, with their children and all the grandmothers, sat together in the courtyard for a visit. Many of these children were in the nursery school, and the day school. To have asked which child belonged to which mother would have aroused suspicion. The research workers concentrated on those children whom they knew, checked with the field worker on returning home, and made several more visits before all details fell into their own niche.

*The use of the check list* greatly facilitated accuracy in recording. It limited and directed the inquiry of a given visit and indicated the probable answers so that the worker needed only to recognize the appropriate one and remember it by number or word symbol until she could do her recording. For example, under value of daughter to the family the number 1 or the words "marriage market" served to recall the fact that the father planned to marry the daughter so that he could have the dowry fee to educate the son.

The information which was recorded on the check list was also recorded as observational or reported incidents or comments supplementing and supporting the checks. The checks clearly showed what items had been covered and indicated what information was still lacking. Only when all 54 relationships had been checked was the information about a family considered complete.

*When two persons recorded together*, they were more likely to see clearly the relation between the research and the service pro-

gram. They interpreted their data to see what steps were indicated for the service program and also to see the next step to take in the research in order to promote the service program. An example of the former was the evidence that windows were needed in every house, and as a result windows were featured in a model house project of the 4H Club and talked about among the nursery school families. An example of the latter was the evidence of irregularities in the pattern among the children. Since almost every family had a new baby each year, a gap of a few years between brothers and sisters of a family was notable. When this same gap appeared in a large number of families of a community, an epidemic was suspected and further investigation disclosed the kind of epidemic. Malnutrition or purposed disposal of infants might account for gaps in certain families. Investigation of the cause often indicated a need for education along a certain line, and thus guided the service program.

The completed records on the 52 families selected for the study were used currently to indicate needs upon which to build the program of service. An example came from one of the neighbors of the family in which the research workers lived. The wife gave an intimate account of going to her husband's home as a child bride. She told of her position in the family until she was old enough for the marriage to be consummated and showed how the kind treatment she had received had helped to produce a warm and affectionate adult and marriage relationship. Investigation showed how unkind treatment to the child bride had helped to produce negative attitudes and maladjustments in other families, even including the preschool children from such homes. Open discussion was provided in the parental and preparental groups about the age of marriage, the treatment of the bride, and the equality of men and women and of boys and girls in the family.

#### METHODS FOR ORGANIZING INFORMATION

*The check list furnished the framework upon which to arrange the mass of detailed information.* This method of organizing may be suggested by a brief discussion of one section under the relationships of the parents as husband and wife which reads:



*Husband's interest in his wife as a person*

- 0—He ignores her completely
- 1—He takes note of her only for physical needs (such as preparing food)
- 2—He gives her some attention and consideration (such as having wood and water supply ready for use)
- 3—He respects her opinion
- 4—He delights in her company

The lowest point, *He ignores her completely*, applied to only a few families in either community. In the beginning of the study this applied to the clan head of one community in relation to his first wife since he was engrossed in a new concubine and also supported a mistress in the nearby city where he did his work. It applied to a man in the other community who allowed his business life to fill his time completely because he had no interest in his wife.

1—*He takes note of her only for physical needs (such as preparing food)* was the point which was checked for the largest number of families in both communities. In one community at the beginning of the study, the check list showed that in many families, a man spoke to his wife only when their work required it.

2—*He gives her some attention and consideration (such as having wood and water supply ready for use)* was checked as characteristic of the relationship in two families. The check was supported by such evidence as that the husband regularly brought in the fuel so that the wife need not forage for it.

3—*He respects her opinion* was the relationship most highly desired by most of the wives in both communities, although the next point higher was greatly desired by some of the wives in the community where education was higher. According to the evidence about the families, however, a total of only five families in both communities were checked at point 3 where the great majority of wives aspired to be. These two families in the one community and three in the other were the families notable for harmony, minimum quarreling in the home, and excellent adjustment between husband and wife.

4—*He delights in her company* had only one family thus checked in each community. In the one community this relationship was looked upon as somewhat shameful by the neighbors. The fact that

the door was closed in the daytime with the child outside was interpreted in that mild climate as sex intimacy. In the other community, where there was more education, the relationship of the husband and wife so checked was puzzling to other wives. This was expressed by such comments as "She is not a secondary wife or a concubine, why should he carry her basket?" The early nursery school record of the preschool child in both of these families described fretful clinging behavior, which disappeared in the second child after adequate diet was provided.

*The basis for the intensive case studies was also the check list,* as the example of the organization of information around the five points of one relationship suggests. Case studies were made on the sixteen families in the two communities. For these families, every item checked on the check list was pursued for further evidence and for understanding the pattern of relationships.

For example, in the preceding illustration about the relationship between husband and wife at point 4, *He delights in her company*, the contrast was marked between the two families so checked. The case study of the first family gave detailed information about the behavior of the husband and wife which evidenced his delight in her. Although they were very poor, the husband frequently gave gifts to his wife which he had bought at the town market. No other husband of this immediate community did that. At periods when she did not go to the fields to work beside him, he often went home in mid-morning to see her. This situation of a farmer at home in mid-morning combined with a closed door and the child outside showed an exclusive relationship so unusual that the neighbors attributed it to sex intimacy.

The case study of the second family gave detailed information about the wife's meticulous efforts to please her husband's old father. She reported that her reason for keeping the house clean and orderly in spite of her busy life in the field and on the threshing floor, was to please her old father-in-law who liked it that way. She showed her old bed valances embroidered before marriage with the scholar pattern, because husband's father was a scholar and would prize it. Visits to the home showed the old father-in-law's pride in his daughter-in-law and reports told of his sometimes reading to her. These items composed a picture of a harmonious

family. Although the preschool boy of this family showed considerable strain at the beginning of the study, his fretful clinging behavior disappeared after an adequate diet was provided, and his food was shared with his grandfather. It was assumed therefore that the undesirable behavior in his case was due to a dietary problem rather than insecurity arising from over-intimacy of parents as in the first case cited.

*Progress in the child's personality development* was also recorded on the framework of the check list. The 26 categories under the relationships *the preschool child and his adults* were checked both at nursery school and at home. Certain relationships were especially significant, such as the child's dependence on or independence of his family adults, his control of them by emotional behavior, and some indication of strain in their attitude toward him. The comparison, and especially the contrast, between his relationship with his family adults and the nursery school adults was suggestive along these lines.

As the routine training was undertaken in the nursery school the check list showed that very little attention had been given to establishing routines in the homes, and that the families did not believe that the children could establish toilet habits, nor that they needed naps. The later checking showed that they did set up habits at nursery school and in some of the homes.

The check list revealed that such behavior at nursery school as adjustment or maladjustment to children was the natural consequence of family relationships. The record of a little girl scolding and pushing her playmates seemed more significant in the light of the frequent quarreling of her mother and father and the refusal of her mother to cooperate with other women of the community. The interest of two little boys who regularly swept the ancestral hall and courtyard in preparation for school was related to the family patterns in which their fathers took both family and community responsibilities.

*Topics for parent education discussion of child development* were provided by the check list. The nursery school records illustrated these with local child behavior. This added reality and concreteness to the discussion which helped the parents to recognize their children's needs clearly enough to do something about them.

After such discussion of nutritional needs, the school lunch was provided. Observation of the children dropping off to sleep on their nursery school stools took on new significance for the parents. They provided mats for naps at school and many of them arranged for children to nap at home.

*Unique information shown in attitudes toward folk culture revealed family relationships* which fitted into this same framework. Folk culture consisted of nursery rhymes, marriage songs, family histories and scrolls, embroideries, and carved wood and jade objects. Each indicated family processes and personal attitudes both positive and negative, and each form contributed some unique additional understanding of family relationships. The presence or absence of each form of folk culture in a community indicated something about the level at which the service program must begin to work in family relationships.

*Nursery rhymes* were common parlance in Ling Chia Hua Yuan and were freely used in conversation. They defined interpersonal relationships and indeed sometimes seemed to justify questionable relationships. For example, the nursery rhyme on grinding beans, in its original form gave finely ground, good beans to a friend and the coarsely ground, hard-to-digest beans to someone disliked. The rhymes described processes of everyday life in which family relationships were developed. Examples were the rhymes about grinding beans to make the bean milk for the baby, going to the stream to wash clothing, and putting on new red shoes to go to school. These nursery rhymes were, therefore, informative of family relationships and everyday life. They were, however, too frequently negative in attitude to serve as teaching material. When edited, restating the negative values in positive form, they provided teaching material for improving family relationships. They were used with the children in the nursery school, and the contrast between the attitudes implied in the original and revised forms made profitable discussion points in parent education.

The *marriage songs* contrasted the attitudes of the present family which a girl was about to leave with those of the family she was about to join. They defined the role of the bride in her own family, describing her warm appreciation for all of them and their friendly treatment of her in her past life. The song to her parents



described in detail the care and teachings they had given her from childhood up. They further prescribed behavior toward her during the period preceding her marriage and the gifts each member of the family should give her. The song which described the arrival of the notice of the marriage date and finally the arrival of the wedding chair portrayed a strong negative expectancy of relationships with her future husband and mother-in-law. These positive and negative attitudes indicated teaching needed, which was provided in a preparental unit for 4H Clubs.

Family histories and scrolls delineated the family behavior and relationships which were extolled as worthy of emulation. They further indicated the level of education upon which to begin a community program. The two communities were sharply contrasted in these respects. In Ling Chia Hua Yuan, a grandmother brought out family history books and read excerpts from them to visitors in the presence of her grandchildren about grandfather as an official. The scroll on the wall extolled the daughter who had taken her life so as to be buried with her husband. Such folk culture sharply contrasted the old relationships to which this family still gave lip service with their new relationships in which the family was providing modern education for the daughters.

*Culture objects* showed family aspirations. Many such objects were treasured in one community but were conspicuously absent in the other. Even though one family in the latter community was already wealthy enough to purchase such objects, they preferred to spend their money on more land or the pursuance of a lawsuit which continued an old feud.

*Embroideries* were meager and consisted of utilitarian sleeve bands in one community. In the other the more truly ornamental six-foot-long bed valance carried designs in border and medallion depicting mythical and historical family scenes. These revealed current family aspirations and family relationships. The "Scholar Parades" medallion on the bed valance of the grandmother whose husband had been an official portrayed the long-time ambition and hard work in which the whole family shared, until the scholar finally received the highest degree. This was relived in the hard work of the mother and grandmother as well as the father of this family to help himself reach a much lower rung on the scholastic ladder.

Just as the whole family stood by rejoicing over the achievement on the medallion, so this whole family rejoiced over the achievement of one of its members. The bridal medallion on another embroidery pictured the scene of the present-day marriage ceremony with only slight changes. The bridal sedan chair was replaced by the bamboo *hua kan* but the current bridegroom still knelt to offer incense to the ancestral spirits as the chair started to bring a new bride into the home.

The same moral values within the families suggested in the embroideries still prevailed. The triangle of the husband torn between affection for his wife, the mother of his son, and infatuation for the newest concubine as portrayed in The White Serpent medallion on the bed valance, was being reenacted by the clan head at the beginning of this study. The ambition medallion of the Fish Jumping the Dragon Gate and thus becoming a dragon continued as the symbol for highest achievement. Local families did not say that a political post had been secured, a college degree received or a business deal successfully closed, but merely "the fish has jumped the dragon gate." The dependence of the present generation for its satisfaction and security upon the glories of the past was indicated in the practice of the elders of selecting and recounting historical and religious tradition.

Religious teaching and worship were embodied in the carved jade *Kuan Yin* while the carved wood *Lao Tieh Kuai* was the symbol of helpfulness. Religious teaching, worship and the philosophy of helpfulness were fostered in the grandchildren through their grandmother's daily conversation and periodic worship.

The information from all sources, as organized within the framework of the check list is present in the research report in three divisions; Family Life In Two Rural Communities, The Service Program, and Research Tools and Techniques.

### *Summary*

The scope of the research covered fifty-two families, twenty-four in Liu Chia Ho, and twenty-eight in Ling Chia Hua Yuan. Complete checks were made on these families throughout the three years. Case studies were recorded of sixteen families, ten in the first, and six in the second community.

Two factors determined the selection of the families; the families with

the widest range of relationships, that is from preschool children to grandparents, and availability of information, that is, those who participated in the most phases of the service program so that their homes were open to the research workers.

Investigators were women because they had readier access to the homes than men. Men students added information about male youth. Some information which is lacking in regard to adults could have been gained by a skilled research man working in the communities for one or two months a year.

The foreign and Chinese women visited homes as a team because of local custom. In some families where the Chinese woman was more acceptable than a foreign woman, two Chinese women went together. By residing in the community the research workers were able to establish more permanent relationships and thus secure more intimate information.

Workers with college training in specialized fields could gather more relevant material than the less well trained worker.

Experience in research as well as training was found to be essential in gathering sound data.

The role of "teacher" secured through participation in the service program gave an entrée to homes for repeated visits to check the data. Shared work in the homes and in the field removed restraint and gave opportunity to gather naturally the information about intimate family relationships.

Natural conversation recorded after returning home had validity because it removed suspicion which would have been aroused by soliciting information and recording it.

Two people recording together after returning from a visit were able to check each other for accuracy and to supplement the information which each had secured.

Recording by use of the check list facilitated accuracy.

Complete coverage was assured when each of the relationships was checked.

Information was completed on the check list for the fifty-two families selected for the study.

The intensive use of the check list in the case studies led to extended service to meet the needs thus revealed.

The 26 categories of the check list under the preschool child and his adults were checked at nursery school and at home showing significant relationships in the family affecting his school behavior.

The check list furnished the framework on which to organize all the original data on family relationships for the research report.

The check list served as the basis for the more intensive case studies on sixteen families and every item of the check list was pursued for further evidence on the total pattern of relationship.

The progress of the child's personality development was also recorded on the check list. And it further provided topics for parent education on child development.

Unique information regarding family relationships was contributed by the family attitude toward culture objects. Nursery rhymes defined interpersonal relationships. Marriage songs portrayed the role of the bride and her expectancy of treatment in her husband's home. Family histories lauded behavior to which lip service was given at the same time that other behavior was actually in process. Religious teaching and worship were embodied in carved objects.

All relevant information about family relationships, from observation, personal verbal reports, written reports or embodied in the folk culture was organized in the framework of the check list and recorded in the present report in three divisions.







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## Glossary

Ai—An ejaculation.

Ai ya—An exclamation of surprise or pain.

An-tzu—A preschool child of Liu Chia Ho—one of Ping-tzu's cousins.

Buddhist—An adherent of Buddhism, one of the three ancient religions of China.

Canton—The province on the southern coast of China from which the people of Kang Chia Ho migrated to Szechuan.

Ch'en Er-sao—The mother of Pao-chen in Liu Chia Ho, whose husband cut the window for her. Member of the literacy class.

Ch'en Er-sao—Mother of Chi-Kwang in Ling Chia Hua Yuan.

Ch'en Big Brother—A prominent big boy in Liu Chia Ho; brother to Ch'en Shu-chen.

Ch'en Kwei-ying—A nursery school girl in Liu Chia Ho. The one who liked to quarrel.

Ch'en Kwang-chu—One of the Liu Chia Ho school girls who became an assistant teacher of the nursery school.

Ch'en Pao-chen—A nursery school girl in Liu Chia Ho—Ping-tzu's friend.

Ch'en Shu-ching—One of the Liu Chia Ho girls who was married during the study.

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NOTE: Names in this manuscript are written in three ways:

Place names have been written with capital letters just as any proper name.

Names of people are, for the most part, written in the Chinese way, that is, with the family name first and the given name last. An example is Ch'en Shu-chen. The family name is Ch'en and the hyphenated name Shu-chen is the given name.

Other Chinese terms are printed in italics.

Chengtu—The capital of Szechuan province.

Chia—A unit of ten families.

Chia Chang—The head of ten families in the present civic government.

Chialing—One of the four large rivers which gives its name to Szechuan province and which has its confluence with the Yangtze and Chungking.

Ching ming—The Chinese decoration day some time in April.

Chi-kwang—A nursery school boy of Ling Chia Hua Yuan—one who stopped nursing.

Chou Er-sao—A woman in Ling Chia Hua Yuan who helped the staff with their work.

Chungking—The wartime capital of China located in Szechuan province.

Chung-tzu—A nursery school girl in Liu Chia Ho—with fretful clinging ways.

Ch'uan-wei—A preschool boy in Ling Chia Hua Yuan—who voluntarily stopped nursing.

Fanchiachuang—The rural center in North China with family-centered rural reconstruction.

Feng—Miss Feng, the Chinese member of the service-research team.

Fukien—A province on the southern coast of China from which the people of Ling Chia Hua Yuan migrated.

Fu-tzu—One of Ping-tzu's cousins, not in his home.

Gin—Miss Gin, one of the Ginling College girls who was the nursery school teacher in Ling Chia Hua Yuan.

Hai Hsien-sheng—The foreign member of the service-research team.

Hsiang—A neighborhood unit of six or more *Pao Chia*.

Hsiao-hung—A nursery school girl of Ling Chia Hua Yuan whose mother early stopped her nursing.

Hsiao Kang Tzu—The settlement where the nursery school of Liu Chia Ho was held.

Hsiao-ling—The preschool daughter of Mrs. Teng, the mid-wife.

Hsien—County.

Hsinlungshang—The rural reconstruction center in Szechuan sponsored by the National Christian Council.

Hua-chung—Eldest Brother of Ping-tzu, the child who is the focus of interest in the Liu Chia Ho narrative. He is really a cousin but all cousins are known as brothers or sisters.

Hua-en—Second brother of Ping-tzu (cousin).

Hua-hui—Third brother of Ping-tzu (cousin).

Hua kan—The bamboo offspring of the old sedan chair which is

- carried on the shoulders of two men. The most prevalent of the man-power transportation of Szechuan.
- Hui-hui—A preschool girl in Kien Yang whom Mei-yu came to know at the home of Hai Hsien-sheng.
- Hupei—One of the central western provinces.
- Hu-tzu—One of the nursery school boys at Liu Chia Ho. His father was Liang Pao Chang.
- Hung-ying—A nursery school girl of Liu Chia Ho who played much with Ping-tzu.
- Hwang—The family name of a large settlement of people who were notably non-cooperative in Liu Chia Ho.
- Kaoliang—A grain of the kaffir corn variety which is used for a cereal in North China and largely for making wine or for feeding animals in West China.
- Kien Yang—The location of the Station in this study. A county seat of the county of this name, situated fifty miles from Chengtu on the Big Road.
- K'o t'ou—The act of obeisance. Listed in English dictionaries as kowtow.
- Kuan Yin—The Goddess of Mercy of the Buddhist religion.
- Kung Hsi—New Year greeting.
- Kuo—The big iron cauldron which is built into the stove.
- Kuo-an—An older boy of the Ling Chia Hua Yuan community who went to the classics school and became leader of his 4H Clubs.
- Kuo-yung—One of the nursery school boys of Ling Chia Hua Yuan. His father was the one who started the classics school.
- Kwan—The family in Liu Chia Ho in whose home the field worker and staff lived, and the school and church were held. The family of Ping-tzu, the child who is the focus of attention in the narrative.
- Kwei-ying—One of the preschool girls of Liu Chia Ho—the quarrelsome one.
- Lao-cr—Second workman in Ping-tzu's family.
- Lao-san—Third workman in Ping-tzu's family.
- Lao-t'ou—Head workman in Ping-tzu's family.
- Lao Shou—Old Father Time, who is often found with the Eight Immortals.
- Lao T'ieh Kuai—One of the Eight Immortals, who leans on an iron staff. He carries a gourd of ointment and is the patron saint of medicine.
- Li—Mrs. Li was one of the Secretaries of Religious Education who worked in Ling Chia Hua Yuan with the college students.
- Liang Pao Chang—Mr. Liang, the father of Hu-tzu, a preschool boy of Liu Chia Ho. The Head of 100 families.



- Ling Chia Hua Yuan—One of the rural centers of this study.
- Ling Chia-wen—A school girl of Ling Chia Hua Yuan who was ready for high school.
- Ling Feng-wen—The older sister of Ling Chia-wen, who was to be married.
- Ling Han-lin—The Elder in Ling Chia Hua Yuan who opposed the adult literacy class and refused to allow his daughters to study.
- Ling Hsiang-teng—The man who was a romantic figure in his own eyes and had many affairs with women. He started the classics school. The father of Kuo-yung, a nursery child, and Kua-an, a leader of the 4H Club.
- Liu Chia Ho—One of the two rural centers of this study, five miles west of Kien Yang.
- Liu-ma—The serving woman in Mei-yu's family in Ling Chia Hua Yuan.
- Liu Ta-sao—The mother of Kwei-ying, the quarrelsome nursery school girl in Liu Chia Ho.
- Lo—Miss Lo, a church woman who often visited in Liu Chia Ho.
- Lung-tzu—Old deaf one. One of Ping-tzu's uncles.
- Ma Ta-sao—The mother of Chung-tzu. The pretty woman of Liu Chia Ho whose husband gave her overmuch attention.
- Mam-po—The likeable old grandmother in Liu Chia Ho, whose fifteen children had all died. Notable for her kind treatment of her daughter-in-law.
- Man—Miss Man, one of the Ginling College students, who worked in Wu Chia Hua Yuan during a vacation and led the Children's Play.
- Mei-fu—The eldest sister of Mei-yu, the nursery school girl who is the focus of interest in Ling Chia Hua Yuan.
- Mei-lu—The third sister of Mei-yu.
- Mei-mei—Little Sister, often used instead of a girl's name.
- Mei-shou—The second sister of Mei-yu.
- Mei-yu—The preschool girl who is the principle character in the Ling Chia Hua Yuan narrative.
- Mou—A measure of land, about one-third of an acre.
- Ou ch'i—A form of sulking behavior socially accepted in Szechuan.
- Pao Chang—The title of the head of 100 families.
- Pao Chia—The unit of civic government composed of 100 families.
- Pao-chen—The nursery school girl in Liu Chia Ho whose mother studied in the literacy class. She often played with Ping-tzu.
- Ping-tzu—The boy who is the focus of interest in the Liu Chia Ho narrative.

- Sha Ho Pa—One of the settlements at Liu Chia Ho where the adult literacy class met, and where some of the nursery school children lived.
- Shantung—One of the five provinces north of the Yellow River—on the east coast of China.
- Shih Chiao—The city at the bend of the river just across from the Ling Chia Huan Yuan settlement. It was where the big stores and the high school were located, and where the community members who had shops conducted their business.
- Szechuan—The province in which the wartime capital of the country is located. The province of this study.
- Ssu-mei—The name by which Ping-tzu's cousin was called. It means literally Fourth Little Sister. All cousins were called brother or sister.
- T'ang—The medical student who gave the physical examinations, did some research, and helped Hua-chung to become a leader at home.
- Ta-sao—Ping-tzu's aunt, the mother of Hua-chung, Hua-en, Hua-hui and Ssu-mei.
- Teng—Mrs. Teng, the mid-wife from the Station who vaccinated the children and taught maternity welfare to their mothers. Dr. Teng, her husband, was a medical student and helped to give the vaccinations.
- To—The name of one of the four big rivers of the province when it passes Kien Yang. Rivers change names several times enroute to the Yangtze.
- Taoist—An adherent of Taoism, one of the three ancient religions of China.
- Wang—Neighbors of the Ch'ens' at Liu Chia Ho.
- Wan-fu—The name of Ping-tzu's father and referred to by his grandfather.
- Wang Ta-niang—A woman leader in Liu Chia Ho who opened her home to the adult literacy class for Christian services and who became a volunteer teacher of beginners in the class.
- Wei—Mrs. Wei, whom Mei-yu came to know when she dined at Hai Hsien-sheng's house in Kien Yang.
- Wei—One of the settlements at Liu Chia Ho. It was here that the wealthiest woman lived.
- Wen—The family name of a large number of the people of Liu Chia Ho.
- Wen An-pao—The preschool child in the Liu Chia Ho nursery school with the sores on his hands.
- Wen Fu-jeu—A man of the community who had seen Ta-sao's husband in Chungking.

Wen Hung-an—A public spirited man of Liu Chia Ho, the father of Lei-lien and one generally known as having a good disposition.

Wen Te-sun—One of the nursery school boys in Liu Chia Ho—good at sweeping.

Wen Te-chinag—Eldest brother of Wen Te-sun.

Yeh Ta-sao—The mother of Hung-ying, one of the nursery school girls of Liu Chia Ho. Wife of Wen Hung-en.

Yu-ma—The serving woman at Hai-Hsien-sheng's house.

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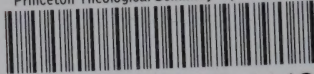
			
			





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